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EARLY GRECIAN HISTORY.



CHAPTER I.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

§ 1. System of Mountains in Northern Greece — § 2 In the Peloponnesus — § 3 Results of the Mountainous Character of the Country. — § 4 Character of the Coast, Bays and Islands — § 5 Macedonia and Thrace — § 6 The Islands of the Aegean — § 7 Character of the Asiatic Coast — § 8 The Aegean a Greek Lake — § 9. Climate and Productions of Greece. — § 10 Minerals — § 11. Political Divisions

§ 1. GREECE* is a peninsula formed by mountains running southward from the Balkan range. In area it is rather smaller than Scotland. Its greatest length, measuring to Cape Malea from the junction of the Cambunian Mountains with the Pindus range, is 250 miles, its greatest breadth, from Cape Sunium to the coast of Acarnania, is less than 200 miles.

The Pindus range, an offset of the Balkans, runs in a south-easterly course from latitude 40° to 39°. At its northern extremity it joins Mounts Bodus and Scardus, which divide Macedonia from Illyria; and at the same point the Cambunian Mountains, intersecting it from east to west, divide those two countries from Thessaly and Epeirus respectively. The Cambunian hills terminate on the east coast in Mount Olympus (9750 feet high), and on the

* This chapter must be studied in conjunction with a good classical atlas, and the student must master for himself the general map of Greece, the course of its chief rivers, position of chief towns and islands, and territorial divisions.

Adriatic Gulf in the Acroceraunian headland. The southern end of Pindus is marked by a second transverse range, Mount Othrys, which forms the southern boundary of Thessaly. The whole country then becomes a maze of disordered hills, belonging to no definite system, but trending in the main to the south-east. One spur (Mount Oeta), running east to the Malac Gulf, there forms the famous pass of Thermopylae. The central highlands run onward to Mount Parnassus, overlooking the oracle of Delphi, in Phocis, and thereafter form the heights of Helicon, in Boeotia; of Cithaeron, which marks the frontier of Boeotia and Attica; and of Mount Parnes, to the north of Athens. The promontory of Sunium terminates the whole.

The entire country west of the Pindus-Parnes line is broken into the steep hills and valleys of Epeirus, Aetolia, and Acarnania.

§ 2. From Cithaeron a small range of hills turns off at right angles to the general line, and forms the Isthmus of Corinth. These are the Geranean Mountains, which make the chief barrier between Central Greece (*i.e.* all that part of Greece which lies between Othrys and the Isthmus) and the Morea or Peloponnesus. They are continued in the Acrocorinthus, or citadel of Corinth, and the highlands about Sicyon, and finally join the eastern side of the ring of mountains which surrounds Arcadia. This ring, known on the north as Erymanthus and Cyllene, sends southward two main arms: one forms the Taygetus range and the promontory of Taenarum (*Matapan*), the other, more to the east, is that of Parnon, which terminates in Cape Malæa. Minor spurs and ranges radiate in all directions and split up the whole country into minute divisions. Arcadia itself is entirely a tableland.

§ 3. Important results arise from the mountainous character of the land. Plains are very few, and, excepting that of Thessaly, they are very small, such as those of Thria in Attica, of Argos, of Cynuria and Thyrea on the east of Mount Parnon, and that of Elis. The number of spurs breaks the coast-line with a corresponding number of inlets, notably the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf, and the proximity of the highlands to the sea makes the presence of

large rivers in most regions an impossibility. The streams are mostly small mountain-torrents, usually dried up in the summer, only in Thessaly (where is the Pēnēus, with its tributaries the Pamisus, Enīpeus, and Euiōpus) and on the coast west of Pindus, which is the watershed of Northern Greece, do we find rivers of any size. The Achēlōus, which divides Aetolia from Acarnania, is the greatest of Greek rivers. The ranges of hills, not so much on account of their height, but because they were barren and pathless, prevented any freedom of intercourse internally, while the wide coastline and multitude of islands invited the Greeks to an external intercourse and commerce, for which there were no suitable rivers at home. Hence both the mercantile character of the Greeks and the jealous independence which kept petty towns of two or three thousand inhabitants in the condition of free states. Further, the hilly nature of the land made agriculture anything but profitable except in the plains, while it afforded ample materials, mostly marble and limestone, for every variety of building and stone work. Hence the wonderful advance of the Greeks in architecture and sculpture.

§ 4 On the eastern coast the Aegean Sea forms the Pagasaeon Gulf, in the south-east of Thessaly, and the Maliac Gulf between Mounts Oeta and Othrys. The rest of the coast of Thessaly, as that of Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, is more regular. Thessaly is defended to the east by a range of hills linking Olympus with Ossa and Pelion, and the only opening in the chain is where the Peneus makes its way by the Pass of Tempe to the sea. Attica received her name from her rugged cliffs, and no harbour of any note breaks her coast, except those of Peiraeus and Phalērum in the Saronic Gulf. Immediately off these lies Salamis, and farther to the south Aegina, while the great ports of Cenchreae, Epidaurus, and Troezen lie all upon the coast of Argolis and the western shore of the same gulf. Argolis is an irregular peninsula, whose south western coast is washed by the Argolic Gulf, upon or near which lie Tiryns, Mycēnae, Argos, Nauplia, and Hermiōne. It constitutes one of the four "fingers" of the Peloponnese, the others being in Laconia and Messenia, where Malēa

is separated from Taenārum by the Gulf of Sparta, and Taenārum again from Acrītas by the Messenian Gulf. Into the Gulf of Sparta falls the Eurōtas, and the gulf is covered by the island of Cythēra. From Acrītas to the Gulf of Corinth harbours are few, but the land is mainly fertile plain. Messenia and Elis were proverbial for their productiveness, and the plain of Triphylia, between the two, was the cause of many wars.

The Corinthian Gulf forms the great highway to Central Greece. It abounds in natural harbours, and carried the commerce of Boeotia and Achaea and Sicyon, not less than that of Corinth, from which it took its name. To the north of its mouth the Achelous reaches the sea, and above it the western coast is even more broken and rugged than elsewhere. Off this coast lie in a line the four islands of Zacynthus, Cephallenia, Leucas, and Corcyra.

§ 5 Beyond the Cambunian Mountains lie Macedonia and Thrace, separated by the Strymon river, on whose estuary stood Amphipolis. Both Macedonia and Thrace are well watered, and their larger dimensions leave room for considerable plains. Macedonia juts seaward in the triple peninsula of Chalcidicē, between the Gulf of Therma, where debouch the Haliacmon and Axios, and the Strymonic Gulf. Its three "bills" of land (Acte, Sithonia, and Pallēne) lie parallel from north-west to south-east. At the extremity of the first of these rises the famous Mount Athos.

From the Strymon to the Hellespont Thrace is watered by many rivers, the chief being the Nestus and the Hebrus, off the mouths of which lie respectively the islands of Thasos and Samothracē. The Thracian Chersonese (Peninsula), which forms the European shore of the Hellespont, continues into the islands of Imbros and Lemnos.

§ 6 South-east of Cythēra, from east to west, lies Crete, largest of all the Aegean islands, and these two, together with Carpathus and Rhodes, form a semicircular chain, enclosing the Aegean from the south. The chain of Euboea, Andros, Tenos, Mycōnos, Icaria, and Samos forms a scarcely less marked barrier across the central sea. These two are important lines, for they mark the so-called central and southern routes of trade by which Greece was

brought into contact with the Orient. Between them lie numberless other islands—the Greek Archipelago—grouped irregularly round Délos, the sacred island, and hence called *Cyclādes*, “The Encircling Isles.” Those islands which lie farther to the east along the coast of Asia were called *Sporādes*, “The Scattered Isles.”

§ 7. The Asiatic coast surpasses even that of Greece in its broken outline. The rivers Hermus and Maeander form two great valleys between the uplands of northern, central, and southern Anatolia, all of which run in the main from east to west. The central range is that of Tmolus; the northern includes Mount Ida, south of the Troad, and runs into the great Taurus range of Central Asia Minor. The southern mountains are those of Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, and Caria.

§ 8. It is possible to cross the Aegean in almost any part without losing sight of land. Harbours abound, and communication by sea is as easy as that by land is difficult, on all parts of the coast. The Aegean Sea became at an early date a Grecian lake. The western shores of Asia Minor were as fully Greek as was Attica or Argolis. The shores of Thrace were fringed with Greek colonies, and the islands were the seats of thriving and ambitious states.

§ 9. Asiatic Greece was distinguished for the superior fertility of its soil, for its wider plains and meadow-lands,—especially in the valleys of the Hermus and Cayster,—for its luxuriant vegetation, and for its warmer climate. European Greece, from its great elevation, is cooler than other regions of correspondingly low latitude. The winter is everywhere severe, and is extremely so in Northern Greece. The mountains, always difficult to traverse, become absolutely impassable when snow falls. Of forests there were more in early times than now, but the land, as a whole, was bare of trees. Most of the varieties familiar to us were to be found in Greece, but it was only in Epeirus and the most rugged parts of Northern Greece that there were real forests. It was there, at Dōdōna, that the most ancient god of the land gave his oracles amongst his sacred groves of oaks. On the other hand, the olive, the vine, and the fig flourished in most parts. Nearly every island had its own brand of

wine, and Attica was early famous for its orchards of olives and figs. Corn grew well on the plains, but not in sufficient quantities to support a large population. Hence the importance at an early date of the corn trade with the grain countries about the Black Sea in Asia and in Thessaly. Flax and a little cotton were grown in Elis. The honey of Hymettus was celebrated. As a rule, the historical Greeks lived but little on meat. Fish was eaten largely, and fruits and grain supplied the rest of the meal. In older times, however, they had been great eaters of beef and mutton, as in Homer's day, and the ox early acquired a standard value. Certain parts of the land, such as Boeotia and Euboea and Arnē, took their names from the excellence of their pasturage for oxen (βόες) or sheep (ἄρνες). Horses were specially valued, although it was not until after the Trojan War that they were mounted rather than harnessed. The possession of an efficient cavalry was in Greece the indubitable mark of oligarchism and wealth.

§ 10. The mainland was fairly rich in metals. Chalcis in Euboea took its name from its mines of copper (χάλκος); iron was worked in Laconia, silver abounded at Laurium in Attica; gold at Mount Pangaeus in Thrace. Richer were the islands, of which Siphnos and Seriphos were famous for iron, Thasos for gold (as also was Siphnos), Thera for various metals. The earliest Greeks, however, borrowed their knowledge of the working of metals from Eastern peoples, notably the Phoenicians, who found out and in some cases exhausted the mines before the time of the Greeks was come.

§ 11. The political divisions of Greece are to a great extent coincident with the geographical, thanks to the frontier lines offered by the sea and the mountains. All south of the Isthmus of Corinth is known as Southern Greece. The name of Central Greece is given to the portion between the Isthmus and the Othrys range. North of that range is Northern Greece. Thessaly is sometimes regarded as a part of Central Greece.

Southern Greece included six great divisions round the mountainous central region of Arcadia lay Achaea, along the Corinthian Gulf, Elis and Messenia, on the western

coast; Laconia, on the south and south-east, and Argolis, to the east. These remained always geographical divisions, but it generally happened that each such great division was split up into a number of smaller political unities, just as Achaea embraced twelve chief states, and as the rugged tract about the Isthmus included the powerful but hostile neighbour states of Megära, Corinth, Argos, Sicyon, and Phlius.

Central Greece included Attica, Boeotia, Phocis and Locris, Doris, and the semi-barbarous western regions of Aetolia and Acarnania, together with the petty district of Megäris, on the Isthmus. The centre of this group was Delphi in Phocis. In early times other petty divisions, such as Dolopia, Oeniänis, and Malis, were included in its catalogue.

Northern Greece embraced Thessaly (with its four districts of Phthiötis, Histiaeötis, Pelasgötis, and Thesaliötis), Epeirus, Macedonia and Illyria, and Thrace; but the Greeks were slow to allow the Hellenic character of any of these divisions except Thessaly, and it was denied altogether in the case of the Thracians and Illyrians. It was not conceded to Macedonia, even though the Hellenic descent of her kings was recognised.

Insular Greece included all the islands of the Aegean and the Ionian seas. The chief of these were Euboea, Naxos, Lesbos and Samos, Crete, Rhodes, and Corcyra. Cyprus always remained more alien than Greek. In the far west Sicily was all but wholly Greek by the close of the sixth century before Christ.

Lastly, there were Asiatic Greece and the Colonial Greeks. The former embraced all the seaboard of Anatolia from the Hellespont to Lycia; the latter were scattered about all the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Sea. Their most famous settlements were in Sicily and on the southern and western coasts of Italy, where their power and prosperity were so great that the country received the name of Magna Graecia. Both will be treated of in later chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLES OF THE FAR EAST.

- § 1. Grecian History connected with the East — § 2 Egypt and the Aegean culture. — § 3 Psammetichus I. to Apries and Settlements of the Greeks in Egypt — § 4. Influence of Egypt upon Greece. — § 5. The Empire of Chaldaea or Accad. — § 6. The Hittites. — § 7. The Assyrian Empire — § 8. The Phoenicians — § 9 The Coming of the Persians and the Medes — § 10 The Lydian Monarchy. — § 11. Gyges to Alyattes — § 12 The Kingdom of Babylon — Conflict between Lydians and Medes. — § 13. Reign of Croesus. — § 14 Overthrow of Lydia by Persia — § 15 Reign of Cyrus. — § 16. Reign of Cambyses. Accession of Darius

§ 1. THE history of Greece down to the eighth century B.C. has little connection with that of Western Europe. On the other hand, it is so bound up with that of the East that some slight knowledge of the course of events in Egypt and Asia is necessary to a proper understanding of Grecian development, whether political, territorial, social, or archaeological.

§ 2. The oldest kingdom of which we know is that of Egypt. Its foundation is lost in antiquity, but monumental records exist from a date at least as early as 5000 B.C. During the period of the Aegean or "Mycenaean" civilisation which is described in the next Chapter, there seem to have been relations between the peoples of Greece and the Aegean islands on the one hand and Egypt on the other. Steatite and cornelian seals with various pictographic designs evidently modelled on Egyptian hieroglyphics have been found recently in Crete; some of these pictographic seals belong to about 2500 B.C., and seem to show that there was connection between Egypt and the early Aegean civilisation of 3000-2000 B.C. During the period of the later Aegean civilisation (2000-1000 B.C.)

there was extensive commercial intercourse between the Aegean and Egypt. This intercourse was especially active from 1550-1300 B.C. During this period Mycenaean jars were exported to Egypt, and Egyptian artistic designs (notably the spiral ornament) and manufactured articles found their way not only to the Aegean islands but even to continental Greece.

§ 3 But it was not till about the year 660 B.C. that Egypt was opened to the Greeks. The country had been conquered by Esarhaddon of Assyria in 672 B.C., and divided by him between a number of petty princes. In 660 B.C. one of these, Psammetichus, who ruled over Sais, drove out the Assyrian garrisons and reduced the vassal kings by the aid of Ionian and Carian mercenaries sent by Gyges of Lydia. Henceforth the Pharaohs adopted a new policy. They encouraged the presence of the Greeks, because they found that people useful in their armies. Even the royal bodyguard was henceforth composed of Greeks, who were settled in camps near Bubastis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. There ensued a time of renewed prosperity for the country. Art revived in a wonderful manner, and Sais was adorned with buildings which almost rivalled the monuments of Thebes. But "the government had ceased to be national, it had gained its power by Hellenic aid, and from this time Greek influence began to prevail. The king's person is protected by a Greek bodyguard, the native soldiers desert to Ethiopia, and the oldest Ionic inscription we possess records the pursuit of them by the foreign mercenaries of Psammetichus" (*Sayce*). In 615 B.C. Psammetichus I. was succeeded by Necho, who went further with the same policy, and endeavoured to make the Egyptians the chief trading people of the world. He attempted to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea by means of a canal, and sent Phoenician ships to circumnavigate Africa. In 595 B.C. he was succeeded by Psammetichus II., who reigned five years only, and then Apries (Hophrah) ascended the throne, 589 B.C. His reign was a series of misfortunes. A war with Babylon ended in Egypt's being overrun by the enemy. Upon an expedition against Cyrène and Barca (see p. 52) he sent only

native troops, who believed that they were marked out for destruction, and broke out into mutiny. The king sent his brother-in-law Amāsīs to reduce them to order. They induced Amāsīs to put himself at their head, and after defeating Apries and his Greek mercenaries, by this time 30,000 in number, placed him on the throne (B C 570). The new king, however, was far from favouring all anti-Hellenic reaction. He continued to keep the Greek troops in his pay, and removed them from Bubastis to Memphis, in order that they might be near his person. An event of greater importance was the settling of Greek merchants on the Canōpic branch of the Nile at Naucrātis. So many natives of Miletus established themselves there, that it came to be regarded as a colony of Miletus. At the same time they were forbidden under severe penalties to traffic elsewhere in Egypt. The reign of Amasis was long and prosperous. It lasted until 525 B C, only ending a few months before the conquest of the country by the Persians*.

§ 4 Nevertheless, the influences of Egypt upon Greece were few. Egypt had become non-Egyptian almost before the two nations attained to free intercourse. It is in the oldest legends that we find most evidence of Egyptian culture. Boeotian Thebes was said to have been founded by Cadmus, whom some traditions made an Egyptian, and it is at Thebes that the legend of the Sphinx is located. Danāus,

* This account of the establishment of Naucratis is taken from Herodotus. But the recent excavations undertaken by Mr Flinders Petrie afford grounds for assuming a much earlier date. Of the various specimens of Greek pottery found in the ruins, the earliest appear to belong to the *seventh* century. Most of the scarabs (engraved gems),—for which Naucratis was famous—must be assigned to the reigns of Psammetichus I and II, and comparatively few to the time of Amasis. It can also be proved, from the character of its pottery, that the temple of Apollo at Naucratis was in existence as early as 610 or 620 B C. We may thus fairly conclude that the Greeks were settled at Naucratis in 650 B C. Perhaps the settlement was formed as early as 670, when the Assyrian conquest had thrown the whole country into confusion. The Greek merchants naturally selected Naucratis as their emporium, for it was, with the exception of the capital, Memphis, from which they were excluded, the town best adapted for purposes of trade. It remained unaffected by the annual inundation of the Nile, so that access thence to Memphis and the upper country was at all times possible.

the mythical eponym of the Danai, was alleged to have fled to Argolis from Egypt. It may be that identity of name gave rise to the idea of a connection between Grecian and Egyptian Thebes, but it is perhaps safe to say that some pronounced Egyptian influences reached both Thebes and Argolis, probably in both cases by the medium of the Phoenicians. In two other points the influence of the Nile-country is well established: the Doric style of architecture took its rise from that of Egypt; from Egypt came many of the ideas which influenced Pythagoras and his philosophy.*

§ 5. Far younger than Egypt was the empire of Chaldaea or Accad, in the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris. This empire had extended so far by the year 2000 B.C. as to reach to the borders of Syria on the west, and its encroachments upon the western shores of the Gulf of Persia had driven from their original home there a Semitic people who migrated to the Mediterranean coast and occupied the Levant. These were the famous Phoenicians. It was in Cyprus that the Phoenicians, who had been settled in the island from very early times, first came in contact with the peoples forming the later Aegean civilisation (2000-1000 B.C.), and they probably acted as intermediaries between these peoples on the one hand, and Egypt and Babylonia on the other. By the year 1500 B.C. the Phoenicians were the largest

* It was founded on mathematics and astronomy, to which the Egyptians gave great attention, as also to medicine and anatomy. Their monuments testify to a marvellous knowledge of applied mechanics. They were perhaps the pioneers of working in glass and metal, and were the makers of many of the scarabs (or engraved seals) which abound on old Greek sites. They preceded the Greeks in the arts of soldering and damascening. They had a very extensive literature, but their writing has nothing to do with that of Phoenicia which furnished the Greek alphabet. In Homer the name *Aegyptus* stands indifferently for the Nile or for the land of the Nile, and the *Odyssey* makes Menelaus visit Egypt on his way home from Troy. There was also a legend that Helen fled to Egypt from Troy, and was never recovered. Certainly there are traces, in Spartan history especially, of what seem to be Egyptian influences, as in the funeral ceremonies upon the death of a king, and some have even seen traces of caste in Sparta and elsewhere in Greece. At Athens the house of the Gephyraeans, immigrants from Thebes in Boeotia, was said to be of Egyptian origin. The name *Cadmus* is connected with a Phoenician word meaning "ancient."

traders in the Eastern Mediterranean, but they did not reach the Aegean till about 1000 B.C.

§ 6 At this date the Hittites were masters of Western Asia. Their empire extended south as far as the Arabian desert and the gates of Egypt, and they had even once put kings* upon the throne of Lower Egypt, the region about the Lower Nile. They were ceaseless enemies of the Pharaohs, and led the great attacks in which the island peoples, the ancestors of the Greeks, took part. Egypt, however, proved too strong for them, and their fall was hastened by the rise of another empire in their flank.

§ 7. This was the empire of Asshur or Assyria, whose capital was Nineveh, in the upper valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. At about the year 1150 B.C. this power was at its prime. It was overlord of the fallen power of Chaldaea on the south and of Elam on the east, its influence reached to the walls of Tyre and Sidon, and far up into the Armenian hills on the north; before it the Hittite Empire had crumbled to pieces, in place of which was left only the kingdom of Lydia in the extreme west of Asia.

§ 8. Since the whole extent of Phoenicia was not more than one hundred and twenty miles in length and often less than fifty miles in breadth, the Phoenicians from the earliest period confined their energies to maritime enterprise. During the period of the later Aegean culture (2000-1000 B.C.) they do not seem to have penetrated further west than Cyprus, where, as we saw in the last section, they came into contact with the Aegean peoples and acted as middlemen between them and Egypt. But it was not until the sea-power of the Aegean islanders, and especially that of the Cretans, had declined, owing in part at least to the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus and the islands,† that the Aegean control of the sea passed into Phoenician hands. From 1000 to 700 B.C. the Phoenicians were the chief traders in the Aegean. At the beginning of this period Tyre took the place of Sidon as the dominant Phoenician city; so that most of the Phoenicians with

* The so-called *Hyksos*, or Shepherd-Kings, 2000-1500 B.C. They were certainly akin to the Hittites, if not actually such.

† See Ch. V.

whom the Greeks came into contact were Tyrians. The Phoenicians excelled in the working of metals, especially of silver, and in the manufacture of dyed stuffs; and in their trade with the Greeks they exchanged purple robes and silver bowls and cups for corn, slaves, and timber for ship-building.

There is a wealth of legend connecting the Phoenicians with the Greeks. According to the Greek myths, the Phoenicians not only founded factories in many islands of the Aegean but left traces of their influence in every part of continental Greece. Not only are islands like Rhodes and Crete said to have been almost wholly Phoenician; but even inland places like Thebes are represented as being Phoenician colonies. But the legends which give such prominence to the Phoenicians are part of a system of myths which was the outcome of an attempt of Greeks of a much later age to re-construct their early history; and, save where they are confirmed by the results of archaeological research, they are quite untrustworthy. The evidence from archaeology seems to show that the Phoenicians established few, if any, permanent settlements in Greece, and that they only founded some trading-posts. Their purple dye was obtained from a shell-fish called the *murex*, and as the *murices* were found in great abundance at Cythera, Nisyros, Cos, Erythrae, and Gyaros, they doubtless had stations at these places. It seems likely that they obtained silver from the silver-mines of Laurium in Attica; though the legend that they were the first to tap these mines is highly improbable. They worked the gold-mines of Thasos and Siphnos, and may have settled in these islands for a time; but their colonisation of them was not permanent. In continental Greece some place-names have been supposed to be Phoenician, but most of these can also be derived from Greek roots. The commercial greatness of Corinth, however, seems to have been due to Phoenician influence.

Although the Phoenicians did not settle permanently in Greek lands, their influence on the Greeks was by no means slight, though it has been greatly over-estimated. One inestimable benefit was conferred by them on

Greece and, through Greece, on our own civilisation. During the period of Phoenician dominance in the Aegean, the Greeks derived the alphabet from them. The Phoenicians had invented the alphabet sometime between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and the Greeks adapted it from them (adding the vowels, for the Phoenician alphabet is consonantal) about 1000-900 B.C. The date cannot be later than 800 B.C., because the *Iliad* of Homer took its final shape in 900-800 B.C. and the *σήματα λυγρά* there mentioned* are almost certainly Phoenician letters. The Phoenicians also exercised some influence (though not so great as is generally supposed) on the Greek religion. The old nature-goddess of the Aegean peoples whom the Greeks worshipped under the name of Aphrodite, was identified with the Phoenician Astarte, and the sensual element in the cult of Aphrodite was derived from the Phoenicians. The Phoenician god Melchertes ("King of the City") was worshipped at Corinth. The Phoenicians introduced metallurgy and the manufacture of textile fabrics into Greece. But the architecture, navigation, and above all the art of the Greeks were derived, not from the Phoenicians, but from the old Aegean culture of which the Greek civilisation was a development.'

Towards the end of the eighth century Phoenicia was conquered by the Assyrians; about the same time the Greeks under the rule of their aristocracies began to assert themselves in maritime and commercial enterprise; and by 650 B.C. the sea-power of the Phoenicians in the Aegean had wholly given place to that of the Greeks.

But it was in the western, not the eastern, Mediterranean, that the great contest for supremacy between Greek and Phoenician was destined to be fought out. For more than two hundred years the fertile island of Sicily, which forms a natural stepping-stone between Africa and Europe, was the battle-ground for contending hosts of Carthaginians and Greeks. Finally the Romans, by the annihilation of Carthage, established the predominance of the Aryan over the Semite in the Mediterranean.

* "Deadly signs." *Iliad*, VI. 169.

§ 9. About 1000 B.C. there descended upon Western Asia a great swarm of Aryan people from the highlands of Bactria, eastward of the Caspian. They numbered many tribes, chief of whom were the Persians and the Medes. The Persians passed southward, and settled in the land still known as Persia Proper, where they placed their capital of Pasargādae, the Medians established themselves farther to the north, and their capital of Ecbatāna lay at the foot of Mount Elwend.

These new powers were a menace to the empire of Assyria, but for the present they remained passive. Assyria busied herself with repeated efforts to advance her frontiers to the north and west. About the year 850 B.C. she conquered Phoenicia, and in the troubles of this epoch many of the Phoenicians passed to the west, and there built up the fortunes of a new power at Carthage. The Assyrians overran and destroyed the Jewish kingdoms of Samaria (720 B.C.) and Jerusalem (680 B.C.), and broke themselves upon the stubborn resistance of Egypt. In 705 B.C. Sargon set up in Cyprus a pillar which recorded the fact that the princes of that island had done homage to him for their crowns. Many of these were Greeks. Egypt was conquered for a time in 672 B.C.

§ 10. Meantime the empires of Media and Lydia grew in power and extent. Lydia comprised the richest part of Asia Minor, its capital was the almost impregnable hill of Sardis, and the wealth of its monarchs was a proverb in Greece. Along its western shores lay the Asiatic Greek cities, and for many generations these flourished by aid of the trade which they carried on amicably with the Lydians. Greek and Lydian lived in perfect amity, and indeed it was difficult to distinguish one from the other in such cases as those of the Lycians and Carians. In Lydia were centred all the past glories and culture of the Hittites, and all the present influences of Assyrian civilisation. It was from Lydia that the Greeks borrowed much of their skill in the arts of sculpture and working in stone and metal,* and the use of coined money, and through the same channel came to them the Oriental system of measures and weights. The knowledge of writing they had already learned from the

Phoenicians, who had themselves borrowed it perhaps from the great kingdoms of Arabia. The Lydian monarchs were not exclusive, like the Pharaohs, they encouraged the Greeks, and when they attempted, as they did, to bring Greek cities under their dominion, it was only that they might reap the benefit of the wealth which flowed thither chiefly from Lydian sources

§ 11 For some centuries previous to the year 700 B.C. the Lydians were governed by a family called Heracleidae. The last of the race was Candaules, who about 685 B.C. was deposed and slain by Gyges, a member of a powerful family called Mermnadae. The oracle of Delphi decided in favour of the usurper, and the Mermnad dynasty occupied the throne for five generations. Gyges at once commenced to attack the Greek colonies on the coast (see p. 47). He seems to have been beaten off by Smyrna, but what contributed chiefly to the failure of his designs was an invasion of Cimmerians (probably of Celtic race) who were fleeing from Central Europe before the advance of the Scythian tribes. As early as 676 B.C. they had spread over all Western Asia, overthrown the kingdom of Phrygia and burned the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Gyges could only extricate himself from his dangerous position by becoming the vassal of Assurbanipal of Assyria. The Assyrians defeated the invaders, but with no permanent result, for about 650 B.C. Gyges was slain in battle, and his son Ardys succeeded. The new king made an attack on Miletus, but another advance of the Cimmerians saved the Greeks for the time. The same hostile policy was pursued by Sadyattes (who reigned 629-617 B.C.) and Alyattes (617-560 B.C.). The latter monarch inflicted a severe defeat on the Milesians, but Thrasymbulus, who was then tyrant of the city, deceived the Lydian by a trick,* and an alliance

* Alyattes had sent to Delphi to ask advice about an illness from which he was suffering, and learned that the cause was the burning of Athena's temple at Assessus by his soldiers. He then asked Thrasymbulus to allow him to rebuild the temple, and the tyrant, to show him that the Milesians were not affected by the continued devastation of their country, filled the market-place with corn, and invited all the inhabitants to a feast.

was made between them. He was more successful with Smyrna, which he captured and broke up into a number of scattered villages. By this conquest the Lydian Empire was extended to the seacoast. He also freed Asia Minor from the Cimmerians, and when he died he left an empire which extended from the river Halys to the Aegean.

§ 12 The incursions of the Cimmerii had left exhausted all the rich Western empires. Assyria was tottering to her fall, and even wealthy Lydia was shaken. The opportunity seemed good, and in conjunction with other peoples of the borders the Medes moved forward. The Chaldaeans revolted and joined the Medes: Nineveh fell in 610 B.C., and in its place arose the second Chaldaean empire of Babylon, whose most famous sovereign was Nebuchadnezzar. The movement still continued: about 595 B.C. the advancing Medes came into collision with the Lydians on the river Halys, which marked the frontier of Alyattes' kingdom. This was the famous "Battle of the Eclipse," so called because it was interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun. It was indecisive. The Median and Lydian empires still lived on side by side.

§ 13 Alyattes was succeeded by Croesus in 560 B.C. He soon got possession of Ephesus, the last independent city on the coast. At the same time he was so far from oppressing the Greeks that he encouraged them in every way, and his court was visited by their famous men, amongst whom an impossible legend classes Solon. His rich gifts to the Greek temples in Asia, and especially to Delphi, were only the outward symbol of his good-will. He foresaw the day when Sardis would need every aid he could muster, and he was purchasing the support of the soldiers of Greece.

At the same time he saw the value of the Western trade, which must belong to Lydia if she could but find harbours. Accordingly, he made Smyrna the harbour of his kingdom, and through his hands now passed the whole of that rich traffic from the East and the kingdoms of Assyria and Chaldaea, which had until lately been carried to Phoenicia. The town of Carchemish on the Euphrates was the centre of the overland route. From this time dates a yet more vigorous communion between Greece and the East, and

during this century the Greek commercial states of the Aegean attained to an average of wealth and prosperity which was never afterwards reached

§ 14 In 549 B C a sudden revolution transferred the supremacy of the Medes to their brethren the Persians, in the person of Cyrus the Achaemenian, a member of the family which had for some generations governed the Persian dependency of Elam (Susiana). This was the signal for a new and final advance upon the rival empires. Lydia fell first. Croesus' wisdom had done its best. he claimed as allies the sovereigns of Egypt and Babylon, and he had extended his influence over the Asiatic Greeks so far that they furnished him with contingents. At Pteria, on the banks of the Halys, he gave battle, and was not defeated. It was late in the year, and he thought it wisest to withdraw to his capital and await the arrival of help from Egypt and Babylon. Cyrus was too quick. All unexpected, he followed the retreating king, shut him up within his walls, and in fourteen days took Sardis by storm. Such was the end of the empire of Lydia, 546 B C.*

§ 15 A few years later came the turn of Babylon, which fell almost without a blow (538 B C). The Persian sovereignty extended over all Asia, from Pasargadae to the Mediterranean, where Harpāgus, Cyrus' viceroy, had set himself to reduce the Greek cities in detail (545-540 B C). All submitted. They became tributary states, furnishing contingents of men and ships when required, but for the rest left to themselves. Most of them fell under the grasp of tyrants who founded their security upon their good-will towards Persia. Cyrus died in 529 B C, while campaigning against the Massagētae, but he had pushed the Persian dominions far up into the heart of Asia, and had brought into collision for the first time the Persian and the Greek.

§ 16 He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who at once directed his efforts to the reduction of Egypt. So careful were his preparations that when he at last made his attack he completely broke the power of its king,

* The story about Croesus being burnt on a pyre is nothing but myth. He was treated with the usual kindness which Cyrus showed to the conquered.

Psammenitus, in the single battle of Pelusium (525 B.C.), and his fleet of Phœnician and Asiatic Greek vessels was sufficient to secure the submission of Cyprus, Cyrene, and Barca. He would have extended his arms to Carthage herself, had not the Phœnicians declined to sail against their kinsmen there. The Persians easily overran the whole of Egypt, though an expedition which pushed southwards towards Aethiopia was a miserable failure. The native priests whom Herodotus met told him that Cambyses had instituted a regular crusade against the religion of Egypt, but the tale was probably false. There is no evidence that the Persians offered any violence to Egyptian superstitions, and a good deal of evidence to the contrary.

Cyrus had left a second son, Bardes or Smerdis, whom Cambyses had secretly murdered, fearing him as a rival. But Cambyses himself was never popular, and during his long absence in Egypt a Magian priest named Gomates seized the throne, impersonating the dead Smerdis, whence he was known as the Pseudo-Smerdis. Gomates found ready support at first, and Cambyses, hurrying back towards Persia, was so disheartened at the menacing condition of affairs that he committed suicide (521 B.C.). The Egyptian priests perverted the fact into a judgment of Heaven upon his impiety.*

Gomates' respite was not, however, of long duration. Darius Hystaspes, a member of the royal line of Persia Proper, and a collateral relative of the Achaemenian dynasty of Cyrus, took advantage of the growing suspicion that Gomates was an impostor. He succeeded in assassinating the Magian, and so made himself master of the kingdom (end of 521 B.C.).

* Herodotus' version of his death is, that he was wounded in the thigh by his own sword, while mounting his horse upon the homeward march.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLIEST CIVILISATION OF GREECE AND THE AEGEAN, AND THE COMING OF THE ARYAN- SPEAKING PEOPLES

§ 1. The Early Aegean Civilisation — § 2 Later Aegean Civilisation
— § 3 The Proto-Mycenaean Period — § 4 Mycenae and Tiryns
— § 5 Crete — § 6 Cities on the Hill of Hissarlık. — § 7. Peoples
forming the Later Aegean Culture Pelasgi, Leleges — § 8 The
Coming of the Aryan-speaking races — § 9 The Achaeans,
Aeolians, and Ionians — § 10 Their Expansion to Asia Minor

§ 1 DURING the third millennium B.C., Greece, the Aegean islands, and the coast of Asia Minor were occupied by tribes descended from the barbarians of the neolithic age. These tribes belonged to what is sometimes called the Iberian and sometimes the Mediterranean type; they were dolichocephalous and dark-haired, they knew the use of stone and copper, but had not yet learnt to make bronze implements. They had however developed a rude and primitive culture, which is called by some authors *prae-Mycenaean* (see § 2) and by others *early Aegean*. Remains of this civilisation have been found on the hill of Hissarlık in Asia Minor (the site of Troy), in Crete, in many of the smaller Aegean islands, in Cyprus, and in a few places of continental Greece. On the hill of Hissarlık the remains of six cities in all have been found, and of these six cities the two in the lowest strata belong to this early Aegean culture. The first city was built of unwrought stone, and its remains consist of stone and copper implements and primitive pottery. The second city was built of brick; the pottery is somewhat more artistic; copper implements are more abundant; and there are even traces of bronze. The knowledge of building has also advanced considerably.

The palace or chief's house resembles, in its general architectural features, that found at Tiryns (the date of which is much later) and even those which are described in the *Iliad* of Homer, though Homer's Troy is the sixth city (1600-1100 B.C.) built on the hill of Hissarlık. The second city of Troy was destroyed by fire about 2000 B.C.

The remains found in Crete, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus, consist mainly of primitive graves (called "cist-graves") Buried with the skeletons are found copper weapons, stone knives, and rude marble images.

The early Aegean peoples seem to have had commercial intercourse with the East, the West, and Egypt; Crete in particular seems to have been even at that early date a sea-power. In all probability, however, the commerce between Crete and Egypt was not as yet direct, but exchange of merchandise was effected through Cyprus and the coast of Palestine.

§ 2. Continuous with this primitive culture, but of a much more advanced character, is the civilisation variously known as the Mycenaean, the Pelagic, or the later Aegean. This civilisation extended from 2000 to 1000 B.C., when it was overthrown in continental Greece by the invasion of the Dorians,* but survived in a decadent state in Asia Minor. The later Aegeans used bronze instead of copper and stone, and the most important features of their culture can be inferred from the remains recently brought to light by archaeologists at Tiryns, Mycenae, and many other places in Greece, in Crete and the Aegean islands, and on the hill of Hissarlık. Though these remains tell us a great deal about the character of this civilisation, they still leave much room for theorising and conjecture; and fresh excavations are continually modifying and altering the conclusions of authorities. The account here given does not of course claim to be final; our aim is to give the reader some small idea of the results already achieved.

This culture of the bronze age was more limited in its extent than the older "chalcolithic" or copper-stone culture; it was confined to Greece, Crete, the Aegean and

Ionian seas, Cyprus, and the Troad. It was distinctly European in its origin and character; there are but few traces of Oriental influence, and these are mainly confined to art. There was however active commercial intercourse with Egypt (probably by way of Cyprus), Asia Minor, and northern and central Europe. The control of the Aegean sea, which afterwards fell in turn to the Phoenicians and the Greeks, was at this time in the hands of Crete.

§ 3. The first stage of this civilisation is usually called the proto-Mycenaean culture. The chief remains belonging to this period have been found in the islands of Santorin and Therasia, which before the volcanic eruption of about 1700 B.C. formed the single island of Thera. The eruption split the island into two, and buried a settlement which has been unearthed in modern times. The remains show a marked advance on the earlier civilisation; they include painted pottery and examples of fresco painting.

§ 4. During the years 1700-1000 the Mycenaean civilisation advanced steadily, reached its acme (about 1400 B.C.), declined, and was finally overthrown. It is to this period that the most important remains are to be assigned. At Tiryns a fortress built of "Cyclopean"* masonry has been excavated; the plan of the chief's house or king's palace can be traced; it is similar to that of the palaces described in Homer's *Iliad*. At Mycenae the ruins of another fortress have been unearthed, the artistic decorations of the palace are more advanced and elaborate than those of Tiryns, but the sepulchres, which are of two distinct kinds, form the most striking feature about the fortress of Mycenae. The earlier tombs are in the citadel itself, they are cut, like shafts, vertically into the rock, and are hence known as "shaft-tombs." The later sepulchres are hewn in the hillside opposite the citadel, they are round and vaulted, and are known as dome-shaped tombs (θόλοι) or "bee-hive tombs." Other tombs of a similar kind have been found at Amyclae, in various parts of Attica, at Orchomenus, and in many other places. The weapons, dress, ornaments, etc., found in these tombs are very similar

* So called from the legend that Tiryns was built by a race called *Κυκλωπες* from Lycia.

to those described in the *Iliad** (which represents a later and decadent stage of the Mycenaean civilisation).

§ 5. We have already mentioned that the Aegean peoples showed great commercial activity. Crete was one of the earliest seats of the Aegean culture, and during the first part of the Mycenaean epoch it had a monopoly of the carrying-trade of the Aegean. The great sea-king Minos, so famous in legend, who is said to have cleared the seas of pirates, probably belongs to the beginning of the Mycenaean age as distinguished from the proto-Mycenaean age, *i.e.* to about 1700 B.C., and represents the Cretan maritime supremacy. Knossos was the seat of the Minoan sea-power, the palace of Knossos, the ruins of which have been recently discovered, is probably the famous Labyrinth (Place of the Double Axe) built, according to the well-known myth, by Daedalus for King Minos. The Double Axe was the emblem of Pelasgic Zeus.

§ 6. When the Aegean culture was already declining, the Greeks carried it over to Asia Minor; but the hill of Hisarlık is the only part of Asia Minor where the remains of the civilisation at its prime have been found. After the destruction of the second city of Troy (about 2000 B.C.) four were built in succession, each on the ruins of its predecessor; of these the sixth and last was also the greatest. This sixth city of Troy belonged to the Mycenaean culture at its prime; it was built on the same plan as the fortresses of Tiryns and Mycenae; but the builders were more skilful and advanced. This is the city of which Homer sang it was destroyed about the year 1200 by Achaeans from Greece. But who were the Achaeans? This brings us to the question of the nationality and mutual relations of the tribes forming the Aegean civilisation.

§ 7. We have already (§ 1) given some account of the peoples included in the early Aegean culture of 3000-2000 B.C. The men of the Mycenaean age were their direct descendants. The Greeks of the historic age assigned the Cyclopean walls and other conspicuous remains of this civilisation to a people called the Pelasgi. The name Pelasgi was used by them to designate different

* See Ch. IV., § 11.

tribes which dwelt far apart from, and seemed to have little connection with, one another. Some authorities assign the proto-Mycenaean civilisation to the Pelasgi, while the middle and later Mycenaean culture is attributed mainly to the Achaeans, those Aryan-speaking conquerors of the Pelasgi of whom we shall presently speak. But it is probable that the Pelasgi were only one of the many tribes forming the Aegean culture of 2000-1000 B.C.; they seem to have been confined to Attica, Arcadia, and Thessaly in continental Greece, to some of the islands, such as Lemnos and Samothrace, of the North Aegean, and to one or two places in Asia Minor. Another tribe included in the Aegean civilisation was the Leleges, who seem to have occupied Amorgos and other Aegean islands at an early period, and to have been driven by the Minoan sea-kings of Crete to that part of Asia Minor which was afterwards called Caria. The Leleges also inhabited Laconia. The Lycians, Lydians, and Carians (who first occupied the inland mountainous parts of Caria, but at a later period came down to the sea, driving the Leleges to the Myndian peninsula) were akin to the Aegean peoples but lay outside the pale of their civilisation.

§ 8. About the year 1500 B.C., when the Mycenaean culture was nearing its prime, there began to enter Greece tribes of Aryan speech, though not of pure Aryan race. These tribes came from the Danube regions, and they continued, under pressure of barbarian tribes further north, to move southwards into Greece by a succession of slow and gradual migrations which lasted hundreds of years. In some places they made the older inhabitants subjects, but in most cases they intermingled with them, and assimilated their civilisation. Thus the later period of Mycenaean culture was partly Aryan in its character, though the invaders seem to have contributed little to it save fresh blood and a dominant speech. For though these Aryan tribes adopted a civilisation which was far more advanced than their own, their language, the Greek tongue which has been so vigorous and masterful throughout history, everywhere overcame and replaced the language of the older peoples.

These invaders may, for the sake of convenience, be called Greeks, but it must not be forgotten that the Greeks of history were a mixed race resulting from the fusion of these Aryan-speaking races with the Pelasgi and other Aegean or Mycenaean peoples.

§ 9 As the language of the invaders became dominant, their names also replaced those of the earlier peoples; and the Greeks of historic times bore tribal designations of the Aryan-speaking settlers. The most important of these tribes were the Achaeans, the Aeolians, and the Ionians; a few of the others were the Hellenes (the name by which the Greeks of the historical period called themselves), the Minyans, the Cadmeans, the Danaï, and the Phocians. The Achaeans seem to have come in great numbers; they conquered the natives of Mycenae and Tiryns, and established a hegemony which comprised a great part of the Peloponnesus and many of the Aegean islands. They probably formed an aristocracy, keeping apart from the native peoples and ruling them as subjects. It is to this aristocracy that the Pelopids, including Agamemnon and Menelaus, belong, and their rule seems to have marked the acme of the later Aegean culture. The Aeolians were closely connected with the Achaeans, they settled mainly in Thessaly and on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf. The Ionians came in small detachments, they were so few in numbers that in many places where they settled, Attica for instance, they left no trace save their name, their language, and their spirit of maritime enterprise. For the Athenians of history were sprung mainly from the Pelasgi and other native races. But the Ionians were widely diffused; we find them in early times on the sea-board of Asia Minor as well as of Eastern Greece; and it may well be that they "passed originally from the Balkan peninsula across the Hellespont into Asia, and only reached Greece proper after a detour along the Asiatic coast and across the island bridge."*

§ 10 The Greeks, as we may designate the race springing from the mixture of Aryan-speaking invaders with native peoples, soon sent settlements across the Aegean to Asia

* H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p 123

Minor, and colonised the Aegean islands.* In Asia Minor the Achaeans destroyed, after a mighty struggle, the sixth city of Troy, and an Achaean bard, inspired by the events of the siege, composed a poem which was the nucleus of the *Iliad*† The Greeks carried over to Asia Minor the Mycenaean civilisation, and the *Iliad* describes a later stage of this culture. In the Achaean and Aeolian settlements it succumbed to other influences and died away, but the Ionians preserved it intact, in their settlements it continued without break or check, and “developed into that luxurious civilisation which meets us some centuries later, when we come into the clear light of recorded history.”‡

About 1000 B.C. a new stream of Aryan-speaking peoples swept down upon Greece. These later invaders§ were the Dorians, the Thessalians, the Boeotians, and the Illyrians. From their rude assault the Mycenaean culture received a check, but it was only arrested, not destroyed; and in the course of a few hundred years it developed into that Greek culture which is the pride and wonder of civilised humanity.

The art and architecture of the Aegean civilisation is dealt with in Ch. XVIII.

* See Ch. VI.

† Ch. IV.

‡ Bury, *History of Greece*, Ch. I. § 5.

§ See Ch. V.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOMERIC POEMS.

- § 1 Date of the Homeric Poems.—§ 2. Subject of the *Iliad* —
§ 3 Of the *Odyssey* —§ 4 The Trojan Cycle.—§ 5. History of the
Poems.—§ 6 The Alexandrian criticism of Homer —§ 7. Modern
Theories, Wolf.—§ 8 Hermann, Lachmann, Nitzsch —§ 9. Grote
§ 10. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* —§ 11. The *Iliad* and Mycenaean
Culture —§ 12 The Achaean struggle with Troy —§ 13. Origin of
the *Iliad* —§ 14 The Ionic *Iliad* —§ 15 Social and Political
Organisation as depicted in the *Iliad*.—§ 16 Social Life in the
Iliad

§ 1. IN the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer so-called we have in forty-eight books a complete picture of the life, customs, and civilisation of a time earlier than that at which the Dorians* invaded the Peloponnese, *i.e.* prior to 1000 B.C. The proof of this lies in the single fact that the poems tell of an age when Peloponnesus was still the Empire of the Pelopid Achaeans. The Dorians are mentioned once only in the *Odyssey*, in the *Iliad* not at all † There is as yet no collective name for the Greeks, but the prominent tribes are the Achaeans and Danaans and Argives. Evidently when the *Iliad* was put together Argolis was the centre of Greek power—the only great power indeed.

§ 2. The *Iliad* tells the tale of part of the ten years' war which the united tribes of Greece, under Agamemnon and Menelāus, kings of Argolis (Mycenae) and Laconia (Sparta),

* For the Dorians, see Ch. V.

† Very different values have been attached to this *argumentum ex silentio*. Abbott declares that it is absolutely worthless, and reminds us that the Cyclic poems, written after the Dorian immigration, are equally silent. He comes to the conclusion that the picture of society drawn in the Homeric poems never existed outside the poet's imagination.

waged against the little town of Troy in the north-western corner of Asia Minor, to avenge the rape of Helen, queen of Menelaus, whom Paris, son of Troy's king Priam, carried off. In the tenth year of the war Achilles, prince of Phthia, robbed of the slave-girl Briseis, who had fallen to him as his share of the spoil of Lyrnessus, refused to fight more. While he withheld his Myrmidōnes the Greek army was unable to accomplish its object. At last Hector, the Trojan hero, slew Patroclus, Achilles' companion. His loss roused Achilles to vengeance. He slew Hector, and was himself slain; but it was only in the tenth year that the Greeks made their way into Troy by the stratagem of the Trojan Horse. Picked warriors of their company hid themselves within a monstrous wooden horse, the rest withdrew, and the Trojans, believing the Greeks to have gone, were induced to drag the structure within their walls. At nightfall the Greeks again approached Troy, and their comrades, emerging from the horse, opened to them the gates of the town.

§ 3. The *Odyssey* relates the adventures of Odysseus (Ulysses), the craftiest of the Greeks, on his journey home. He saw his comrades slain by the Cyclops Polyphemus, by the monster Laestrygonians, by Scylla and Charybdis. He saw the Sirens and went to the world's end and the lip of Hades, to have converse with the souls of the dead. After this he came alone to Calypso's isle where he was detained by the nymph until the gods bade her let him go. Then at last he came to the Isle of Phaeacia, whose king Alcinoüs heard his story and sent him home at last after ten years of wandering. Landing in Ithāca he found his old father Laertes dishonoured, and his palace filled with reckless brawlers who sued for the hand of his wife Penelope, ate up his substance, and threatened the life of his son Telēmachus. These Odysseus slew, and so returned again to his kingdom and his honours.

§ 4. These two poems are but two out of a vast collection of Epics, known as the Trojan Cycle (ὁ Τρωϊκὸς κύκλος), which related the whole story of Troy from the first cause of the quarrel to the end of all who were concerned in the war. It was called the 'Cycle' because it gave the story as

a "rounded whole."* The various works of the Trojan Cycle were:

(i) *Tà Kίπρια*, by Stasinus of Cyprus (circa 776 B.C.), which told how the quarrel first began with the throwing down of the apple of discord at the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis, the parents of Achilles. It then describes how Paris carried off Helen, and traces the war down to the tenth year, the point at which the *Iliad* opens.

(ii) *The Iliad*

(iii) *Ἡ Αἰθιοπίς*, by Arctinus of Miletus (circa 776 B.C.), which told how Penthesilēa, queen of the Amazons, and Memnon, chief of the Ethiopians, the beautiful son of Dawn, came to aid the Trojans. After this Achilles is slain by Paris, and Ajax and Odysseus contend for his arms.

(iv) *The Little Iliad* (*Ἰλιάς Μικρά*), perhaps by Lesches of Lesbos (circa 706 B.C.), relating how the armour of the dead Achilles was awarded to Odysseus, and how Ajax went mad in his disappointment.

(v) *The Sack of Troy* (*Ἰλίου Πέρις*), by Arctinus of Miletus, which told of the wooden horse and Troy's fall.

(vi) *The Home-coming of the Heroes* (*Νόστοι*), by Agas of Troezen (circa 750 B.C.), relating the adventures of the chiefs (especially Menelaus and Agamemnon) on their homeward journeys, when persecuted by Pallas Athenē because of the outrage done to her temple by Ajax the son of Oileus.

(vii) *The Odyssey*

(viii) *The Story of Telegonus* (*Τηλεγονία*), by Eugammon of Cyrēne (circa 566 B.C.), telling how by the sword he slew his father Odysseus.†

§ 5 None of these poems attained to such popularity as

* The Cycle is important in determining a lower limit for Homer. It is evidently later than Homer's work, for "it is planned to introduce or continue it", it also shows "the stamp of a later age (*a*) in certain ideas, *e.g.* hero worship, purifying rituals, (*b*) in a larger circle of geographical knowledge, and a wider range of mythical material" (*Jebb*). Thus the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must be earlier than 800 B.C.

† Besides these, there was another Cycle, that of Thebes, dealing with the tale of Oedipus and his house, the March of the Seven against Thebes, and the later expedition of the Epigoni, sons of the Seven.

did the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. They were recited publicly by a special class of men (*ῥαψῳδοί*) who made this a profession. Their name of Rhapsodes means "singers of stitched song"*. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* became the Bible of the Greeks, for they were the foundation of their mythology, and to them they owed the first real personification of their great deities†. In later days the two were the standard text-books of Greek boys. Tradition said that Lycurgus of Sparta (800 B.C.) had made a complete collection of Homer's poems, a commoner belief ascribed this formal publication of a "Vulgate" text to Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, about 530 B.C. Who Homer himself was, none remembered. Numbers of places laid rival claim to being his birthplace, and of these Chios was the most favoured. There exist some odes to various deities, known as the "Homeric Hymns," in one of which the poet declares himself "a blind man whose home is in rocky Chios". This is the sole foundation for the story that he was blind.

§ 6 The ancients never doubted his personality. There was a great school of Homeric Criticism at Alexandria in the third century B.C., to which belonged Xenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace, all of them librarians of the great Alexandrian Museum. Of these the last was the most famous, and his edition of the poems with full commentary is the basis of our present text of Homer. There were, however, some critics called the "Separatists" (*οἱ χωρίζοντες*) who maintained that Homer did not write *both* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. They received little support, and the theory lapsed.

§ 7. It was not until the year 1795 A.D. that modern criticism attacked the problem. In that year F. A. Wolf, a German, published the *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, maintaining that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not the work of the same man, nor composed at the same time. He believed that "the Homeric poems were put together, at

* Jebb denies that the Rhapsodist "stitched together" the epic from shorter lays. The word *ῥαπτοίς* is peculiarly suitable to the continuous flow of epic verse as contrasted with a lyric strophe.

† Herodotus says that Homer and Hesiod "made the religion" of the Hellenes.

the beginning of the Greek literary age, out of short unwritten songs which had come down from a primitive age." He does not decide how many of these were due to one man, but he is of opinion that "the poet (Homer), who began the series of songs, also composed most of them, and that the later poets continued the general line of his work." His main argument was that (*a*) the poems could not have been preserved from so early a date by memory alone, and writing was as yet unknown; (*b*) there was no reason or audience for so long a poem. The first argument cannot be proved, but is probably wrong.* In one passage Homer seems himself to speak of writing. The second assertion can scarcely be accepted as an argument at all; it is rather a matter of taste.

§ 8 Hermann maintained that Homer composed originally a short "Wrath of Achilles" and a "Return of Odysseus," and that other and later poets added to the original poems until they reached their present length. In other words, he aimed at discovering interpolations. But he believed that the works were sketched out in their entirety by the primitive poet. Lachmann, on the other hand, divided the *Iliad* into eighteen different "lays," which he supposed to be the work of (possibly) eighteen different poets pieced together by later hands.

Nitzsch was more conservative than either Wolf or Hermann. He maintained the unity of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in plan and authorship, and he brought forward evidence from the other poems of the Cycle to prove that they were known in much their present shape as early as 800 B.C.†

* We know that the Phœnicians used writing at a very remote period, and as there was much intercourse with Greece as early as 1100 B.C., they may easily have introduced it. But even if writing were still unknown, there is no impossibility in the oral preservation of the poems.

† "Nitzsch conceived Homer as a very ancient poet, and as one with whom an epoch began. He found a number of *short* lays about Troy. He achieved a work of a new kind by building up, partly from these, a large epic on the wrath of Achilles. Minor interpolations and changes were made afterwards" (*Jebb*). The difference between the early lays and the work of Homer is somewhat analogous to the difference between Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" and the ballad poetry on which that work is based.

§ 9. Grote advocated the theory that the original *Iliad* had been an *Achilleid*, i.e. the story of Achilles' wrath and its results; and that upon this had been grafted various addenda and interpolations. The original *Achilleid* consisted only of books 1, 8, 11-22 of the *Iliad*. The others were subsequently added to form an *Iliad*. Grote's arguments are based entirely on such internal evidence as discrepancies

§ 10. Having sketched some of the most famous theories regarding the Homeric poems, we will now present what, in the light of modern archaeological research, seems to be the most probable view of the origin, date, and composition of the *Iliad*. As for the *Odyssey*, it certainly belongs to a later age than the *Iliad* the two epics differ in legendary basis, in theology, in character, and in language. It is the *Iliad* which throws real light on early Grecian history; therefore it is to the *Iliad* that we propose to confine our remarks.

§ 11. It has been already* pointed out that there is a close resemblance between the architecture of the palaces of the Mycenaean civilisation and that of the palaces described in the *Iliad*. The weapons and the works of art described by Homer also tally closely with those excavated at Mycenae, Tiryns, and other places. The Homeric poems, and especially the *Iliad*, are thus closely connected with the Mycenaean or Aegean culture. It has been shown that the sixth city on the hill of Hisarlik participated in this civilisation; and it is the siege of this city by the Achaeans about 1200 B.C. that is the theme of the *Iliad*.

§ 12. The expansion of the Achaeans from Greece proper to Asia Minor probably began about 1300 B.C. and lasted for hundreds of years. But even the earliest Achaean settlers in Asia Minor had assimilated the Aegean culture, and this, together with the dominant Aryan language, which was their contribution to this culture, they carried across to the shores of Asia. The earliest of the Achaean emigrants were closely connected with the Achaean aristocracy in Argolis to which we referred in the last chapter†;

* In Ch. III.

† Ch. III. § 9

and it may be that they were sent over or led over to Asia Minor by chiefs called Agamemnon and Menelaus

This band of Achaeans settled in the northern part of Asia Minor, and they soon came into collision with the dominant city in this region, the great Phrygian city of Troy, the sixth and last of the series built upon the hill of Hissarlık. These Phrygians were closely connected with the tribes of Aryan speech which had made Greece their home, and therefore with the Achaeans themselves; they were in contact with the Aegean culture, and their civilisation was probably more advanced than that which the Achaeans brought over. In any case there was no room for the two peoples to dwell side by side; it may even be that Achaeans were sent over from Argolis with the definite object of reducing the Phrygians.

A long and fierce struggle took place, after weary years of warfare victory declared itself for the Achaeans and the mighty fortress of Troy or Ilios fell into their hands and was burnt to the ground.

§ 13. It was this momentous conflict that inspired the Achaean bards with a new theme for their songs; and to it we owe the *Iliad* of Homer. Somewhere about the year 1050, one of these bards composed "on the basis of older lays," a short poem called the "Wrath of Achilles," dealing with some of the salient events of the siege. But the prosaic struggle of Achaean and Phrygian was transformed by the poet's imagination into a conflict of superhuman grandeur, in which the gods fought side by side with the sons of men. The mortal combatants are mere puppets in the hands of the deities; and the progress of the war is determined by the schemes and counter-schemes of gods and demi-gods.

§ 14. The author of the "Wrath" sang his poem in the Achaean tongue, or the Aeolian "dialect," as it was called in the historic period. The Aeolians were closely connected with the Achaeans, and many of them joined the Achaean expansion to the north of Asia Minor. Some authorities are of opinion that "Aeolian" is only another name for "Achaean." By the year 850 B.C. the Ionians were the leading Greek race in Asia Minor, and somewhere about

this date a native of Chios, one of the Ionian settlements, "took in hand the older poem of the 'Wrath of Achilles,' and expanded it into the shape and compass of the greater part of the *Iliad*."* This poet, whose name may well have been Homer, was to some extent a mere editor; but he was also a great original poet, the greatest the world has ever seen. Like Shakespeare, he owed much to his predecessors; but, also like Shakespeare, he made most of what he borrowed his own, transmuting the dross into the purest gold.

This Ionian poet was writing at a time when the Mycenaean culture, though still surviving in Asia, was in a decadent state, and he was writing about events which had happened so long ago that they were only kept alive in men's memories by the songs of minstrels. Hence he was forced to archaize consciously and consistently, and his archaizing is so successful that it is one of the triumphs of his genius. Thus the political and social conditions depicted in the *Iliad* were those of the peoples of continental Greece, the Aegean, and Troy, about the years 1300-1100 B.C., when the Aegean culture, though it had passed its zenith, was still dominant, and when the Achaeans and other "Greek" peoples had become an integral part of it. These political and social conditions we will now briefly describe.

§ 15. The basis of society at this age was the *genos* or clan, the members of which were descended from a common ancestor. There was no individual property in land, the clan was the only landowner, and the chief of the clan the sole administrator of the estate thus held in common. Each clan occupied a village; a number of clans in their villages combined to form a *phratra* or brotherhood; and a number of brotherhoods combined to form a *phyle* or tribe. Thus the tribe consisted of a large number of villages, more or less scattered. At the head of a tribe, or sometimes of a number of tribes, was the *basileus*, or tribe-chief, the word is usually translated by our "king." The king derived his power and sometimes even his origin from Zeus, and thus he ruled by divine right. He was the

* Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 66.

high priest of the people, their sole judge, and their leader in war. By the side of the king there existed in each tribe a *Boulé* or council, composed of the heads of such clans as could derive their origin from Zeus or some other god. The king was bound to consult his council before carrying out any project; if they disapproved of it, the measure was withdrawn. When a measure had been approved by the council, it was announced to the *Agon* or public assembly, consisting of the heads of the non-noble clans, but this assembly could only hear and acclaim; it could not debate or propose measures.

§ 16. The people were mainly busied upon the land, and the incidents of pastoral and agricultural life are constantly before the poet's mind. Slavery was rather the exception, hired labour was the general rule, and the captives taken in war were only kept if they were young and beautiful. The men, the old, and the ugly, were either slain or sold. War was barbarous, of course, but not more so than must be the case amongst people whose life is spent in war, and its chief cruelties like its chief exploits belonged to the great captains and warriors. The common people followed their princes to battle, but mostly did little in the field. The chieftains rode to war in chariots, in the Assyrian fashion; not mounted, as in later days. They were equipped with plumed helmets, corselets of mail, greaves upon the legs, heavy lance, short sword, and blazoned shield.

The bond of the guest-friend went far to secure life and property: to have eaten at a man's board constituted a tie which could only be disowned under heaven's direst displeasure. No matter where or how they met, guest-friends (*ξένοι*) remained bound to aid each other as far as they could, and the giving and receiving of costly presents was the outward mark of the bond. Murder and homicide were expiable by a money-fine (a known mark of early society), and having once received the blood-money, the relatives might not look for further vengeance. The religion of the time was simple in the main. There were many gods, but the greatest of them was Zeus; he punished the wrong doer, and rewarded those of pious life.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATER IMMIGRATION OF ARYAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES INTO GREECE.

- § 1. The later Stream of Immigration into Greece — § 2. The Thes-
salians — § 3 The Boeotians — § 4. The Dorians — § 5 Dorian
Conquest of Argolis — § 6. Of Corinth — § 7 Of Laconia. — § 8.
Legend of the Return of the Heracleidae. — § 9. Character and
Results of the Dorian Invasion of Peloponnesus — § 10. Illyrian
Invasion of Aetolia, and Settlement of the Aetolians in Elis

§ 1. ABOUT the year 1000 B.C., when the Mycenaean civilisation was on the decline in Greece, and was surviving in a decadent state in Asia Minor, a new wave of Aryan-speaking peoples spread over Greece, driven from the north-east of the Balkan peninsula by advancing Illyrian peoples. The principal tribes making up this stream of immigration were the Thessalians, the Boeotians, the Dorians, and the Illyrians.

§ 2. The original home of the Thessalians was Epirus. Under pressure from tribes of Illyrian stock they sent out hordes of settlers into the inviting plain on the east of the Pindus range, which was called after them Thessaly. Here the invaders became a ruling aristocracy, to whom such of the earlier population as did not flee southwards or emigrate to Asia Minor became serfs (*Penestae*). The invaders settled at first in the south-western corner of Thessaly, in the district called in historic times Thessaliotis, they then gradually overran the rest of Thessaly (Phthiotis, Histiaiotis, Pelasgiotis, — a name which shows that pre-Aryan peoples had been dominant in this district before the Thessalians came) The Thessalian aristocracy became the ancestors of noble families such as the Scopadae of Crannon and the Aleuadae of Larissa. These great families formed a loose federation, which in times of war elected a

ruler with the title of Tagus, who acted as general of the allied nobles

§ 3. The Boeotians, a people closely related to the Thessalians, seem to have crossed over from Epirus into Thessaly, and to have been driven southwards to the west of the land which they ultimately made their own and called after themselves. Here in the valley of the Cephissus and on the borders of Lake Copais, was the great city of Orchomenus, which, like Tiryns and Mycenae, had been one of the chief seats of the Aegean culture; from its ruins has been unearthed a bee-hive tomb similar in design to those found at Mycenae. The Minyae, an Aryan-speaking people who were among the earlier invaders of Greece, had conquered the native inhabitants of Orchomenus, and established a rich and powerful aristocracy, reclaiming the surrounding country from Lake Copais and its marshes. The Minyae of Orchomenus were too strong for the Boeotians to attack, and they passed on to the valley of the Asopus, where the Cadmeans, another of the earlier invaders of Aryan speech, held the famous city of Thebes. The Boeotians were more successful here. They conquered Thebes, and made it the capital of the land which was henceforth called Boeotia.

The name of the conquered Cadmeans was preserved in that of the citadel of Thebes, which was in historic times called the Cadmea. When the Boeotians became masters of Thebes, they soon extended their rule over the rest of the land, with the exception of Orchomenus, which held out till the seventh century B.C. Moreover the little town of Plataea under the slopes of Cithaeron, which had been occupied by Ionian settlers, resisted throughout the whole of the historic period the dominion of the Boeotians; in this resistance the Plataeans were consistently aided by their kinsfolk, the people of Athens.

§ 4. Meantime the conquerors of Thessaly pushed up to the north-east, and attacked the Perrhaebi, a small tribe dwelling in four cantons about Mount Olympus, where was their shrine of Apollo, near Tempe. Pressed at once by the Epirots and by the tribes to the north of Olympus, the Perrhaebi lost their position. The inhabitants of one of their

four cantons, Dorians by name, emigrated *en masse*, and fought their way southwards, through Thessaly and Dryopia, to the head of the Malac Gulf, where they founded behind Mount Oeta a narrow settlement to which they gave their own name, Doris. They seem also to have established some Dorian families at Delphi, who acted as priests of Apollo, and guardians of his oracle.

The Dorians soon outgrew the narrow limits of Doris and began to move southwards. On reaching the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf they split up into separate bands. One of these sailed round the Peloponnesus and colonised Crete, where they became the dominant race; another sailed up the Argolic Gulf and conquered Argos; a third sailed up the Saronic Gulf and conquered Corinth; while a fourth, consisting of Aryans of pure blood, landed in Laconia and gradually reduced it to subjection.

§ 5 The Achæan invaders of Argolis, who had reduced the native peoples while at the same time assimilating their civilisation, had made Mycenæ the seat of their power, where they formed an Aryan aristocracy represented in legend by the Pelopidae, and the great name of Agamemnon. But when the Dorians reached Argolis, the greatness of Mycenæ was already a thing of the past. Argos on the hill of Larissa, one of the earliest settlements in Peloponnesus, was evidently marked out by nature to be the chief city of the plain, and it was already taking the place of Mycenæ at the time of the Dorian conquest. The Dorians did not reduce the Achæans to subjection, and very few traces of their conquest remain. Argos now became the recognised capital of Argolis, but she was by no means a purely Dorian stronghold, the old kingship still went on, and the old Achæan population was enrolled as a fourth tribe, the Hymethes, by the side of the three Dorian tribes. Some of the native inhabitants, whom the Achæans had conquered, were reduced by the Argives to the position of serfs, under the name of Orneatae. From Argolis the Dorians sent settlers to Phlius, to Sicyon, and later to Aegina. Megara was also founded about this time by the Dorians.

§ 6. The Dorians who sailed up the Saronic Gulf seized the acropolis (called Acrocorinthus) of the Aeolian settlement of Ephyra and founded the city of Corinth.

Here, as in the case of Argolis, the conquest took the form of amalgamation, not of subjection. But the Dorian conquest was the making of Corinth, though it is probably "to the Phoenicians that the discoveries of her commercial possibilities are to be assigned."*

§ 7. But by far the most momentous conquest effected by the Dorians in Peloponnesus was that of Laconia. The invaders landed on the east coast and occupied part of the valley of the Eurotas. Here, by the "synoecism" of five villages, was formed a settlement called Sparta, the members of which were the only Greeks who could lay claim to pure Aryan descent. But the old Mycenaean fortress Amyclae, where Achaean invaders had established a monarchy and reduced the native peoples to serfdom, defied for many years the assaults of the Dorians.

Messenia, in the south-west of Peloponnesus, was not conquered by Dorians till a much later period. Achaea, on the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, derived its name from Argive or Laconian Achaeans who settled there rather than submit to admixture with or reduction by the Dorians.

§ 8. The legendary account of the Dorian migration to Peloponnesus is quite untrustworthy; but it is so famous, and had such great influence on the Greeks of the historic period, that it cannot be omitted in this context. The myth probably originated from the desire of the Dorian Temenids, the ruling house at Argos, to connect themselves with the famous hero Heracles, rather than with the obscure Dorian hero Aegimius. The legend, which is called "the Return of the Heracleidae," is as follows. There had dwelt amongst the Dorians in Perrhaebia a clan concerned with the worship of Heracles, whom legend made once a king of Thryns and lord of Argolis and the Peloponnesus. This clan called themselves Heracleidae, and though not Dorians, they joined the Dorian invasion, acting indeed as its pioneers and leaders. They claimed to be returning to

* Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 290

recover their ancestors' kingdoms, and hence the Greeks spoke of the great Dorian movement as the "Return of t' e Heracleidae." They dated it "eighty years after the Trojan War." The date is purely arbitrary of course: we may accept the year 1000 B.C. as a probable era. According to the legend, the children of Heracles, being persecuted by Eurystheus, fled to Athens where they found protection. The eldest, Hyllus, took service with the Dorian king Aegimius, and led the first attempt at return. He was defeated at the Isthmus by Echemus, king of Tegea, and an oracle forbade his followers to resume their attempt until they could be generalled by the grandsons of Hyllus. These were Temēnus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, under whose command, at the guidance of Oxylus, king of the Aetolians, the Dorians entered Peloponnesus by way of Elis. That region they left to Oxylus as his reward, and their leaders divided between themselves the remainder of the land. To Temenus, the eldest, fell Argos, the inheritance of Heracles; to Cresphontes, Messenia; to Aristodemus, who almost immediately died, and then to his twin-sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, fell Laconia. Arcadia remained unconquered, and its people boasted that they were the oldest in Greece—Proselem, "older than the Moon."

§ 9 When the Dorians swooped down upon Peloponnesus, the Mycenaean culture was already on the decline, for the best blood of the Achaeans and Ionian settlers had been drained in their migrations to the shores of Asia Minor. The Dorians were a hardy and vigorous race, but they were semi-barbarians, and the use of iron seems to have been the only contribution to civilisation which they brought with them. The Mycenaean culture was one of bronze, iron was a rarity till the Dorians came; and there can be no doubt that the possession of the new metal greatly facilitated their conquest. Though the Dorians completed the downfall of the Mycenaean civilisation, as such, they only imposed a temporary check on the development of the culture, and especially the art, which it represented. "From its Pelasgian origin through its states of Achaean splendour and 'Homeric' decadence to its re-birth in Ionia and the

isles in the seventh century, Greek art is one and the same”*

§ 10. In the legendary account of the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus, the Aetolians are represented as having accompanied the Dorians and settled in Elis on the western coast of southern Greece. During the years 1300-1000 B.C. the land known as Aetolia (in the western part of central Greece) partook to the full of the Mycenaean civilisation. Calydon and Pleuron, its chief towns, are famous in Homer. But about 1000 B.C. the Illyrians who drove the Thessalians and Boeotians from Epirus into Thessaly, invaded Aetolia, and replaced the old civilisation by a barbarism which lasted during the whole period of Greek history. Many of the earlier inhabitants fled before the irruption and crossed over the Corinthian Gulf to the country known in historical times as Elis, for the immigrants, after subduing the earlier Greek inhabitants, assumed the name of Eleans, a word which is connected with the Latin *vallis*, and means “men of the valley”

* Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 279.

CHAPTER VI

COLONISATION

- § 1. Achæan, Aeolian, and Ionian Expansion to Asia Minor — § 2. Two Classes of Colonies — § 3. Cleruchies — § 4. The Achæan and Aeolian Settlements — § 5. The Ionian Settlement. — § 6. The Ionian Dodecapolis — § 7. The Aeolian Dodecapolis — § 8. The Dorian Hexapolis — § 9. The Second Era of Colonisation. — § 10. Difference between a Greek and a Roman Colony — § 11. Work of Euboea in Colonisation — § 12. Megara — § 13. Miletus — § 14. Occupation of Sicily. — § 15. Of Southern Italy. — § 16. Activity of Phocæa — § 17. Italian and Sicilian Colonies — § 18. Corinth. — § 19. Foundation of Cyrene — § 20. Results of this Colonisation

§ 1. IN the fourth chapter reference was made to settlements of the Achæans, Aeolians, and Ionians on the coast of Asia Minor. The Achæans invaded Asia Minor probably during the course of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries. They were accompanied by the Aeolians, who had settled in Thessaly and Aetolia. About the year 1200 B.C. began the Ionian wave of emigration. The Ionians had settled in Attica and on the coast of Argolis, and the first impulse to the colonisation of the Peloponnesian Ionians may have been given by an attempt on the part of the Achæans to deprive them of their lands. The Ionian expansion to Asia Minor continued for hundreds of years; it was still going on when the Dorian wave swept over Greece; and there is no doubt that the Dorian immigration gave a further impulse to the Ionian colonisation. The Boeotian conquest also drove many of the earlier inhabitants to join the Ionians in seeking new homes across the Aegean. Thus Lebedus owed its foundation to the people of Lebadea in Boeotia.

The expansion of the Greeks to the shores of Asia Minor was thus partly natural, partly dictated by necessity. By the year 900 B.C. the Dorians had also colonised the Asiatic coast. With this settlement the era of natural expansion, and colonisation under pressure, terminated. The cities on both sides of the Aegean grew so rapidly in wealth and population that they commenced a regular system of state-managed colonisation, with a view to extending their trade influences, securing new marts, and at the same time finding room for surplus population.

2. Roughly, then, there are colonies of two classes: one consisting of those founded owing to natural expansion or under the pressure of necessity, the other of those founded by state-direction. The motive in the latter case is usually in some way connected with trade, but other reasons occur, such as the desire to get rid of dangerous citizens and political malcontents, or of erecting a strategic position against an enemy.

§ 3 The *Cleruchies* (allotments) belong to a later date, and are of different nature. A *Cleruch* (κληροῦχος) was the citizen of some conquering state such as Athens, who, for the sake of the land, took over one of the "allotments" (κλήροι) into which a conquered territory was divided. He differed from the colonist in remaining a citizen of his original country, and not becoming a member of a new state. The system was chiefly employed by Athens, and we find her using it in Salamis, Euboea, Thasos, and elsewhere.

§ 4. The Achaeans and Aeolians settled on the northern coast of Asia Minor. The first colony planted by them was that of Cyme, between the mouths of the Caicus and the Hermus, from this centre a multitude of smaller settlements originated. These new settlements were almost all upon the coast; only the solitary town of Magnesia on the Hermus was founded as far as thirty miles from the sea. There was fighting to be done in some cases before the colonists could secure their position. We have already recounted how they came into collision with the Phrygian city of Troy, to which the founding of so many settlements on its southern frontier constituted a serious menace. In

most instances, however, the Mysian inhabitants voluntarily surrendered sufficient ground to the newcomers, and then gradually withdrew more and more. The country thus colonised by the joint enterprise of Achaeans and Aeolians was called Aeolis.

§ 5. The Ionian emigration from Attica and Argolis began somewhere about the opening of the twelfth century, it was of a gradual nature, and by the time of the Dorian invasion the Ionians had probably founded only a few settlements on the sea-board of Lydia and Caria. The Dorians gave a great impetus to the migration; by 900 B.C. the real home of the Ionian race was Asia Minor; the name "Ionia" is confined to their settlements on the Asiatic coast. Those who remained in continental Greece became thoroughly merged with native "Pelasgian" population among whom they had settled, the inhabitants of Attica during the historic period were descendants of the Pelasgi with a small admixture of the Ionian element, though the Aryan tongue, which the Ionians brought with them, replaced, as it did in all parts of Greece, the language of the older race.

The Ionians, like the Achaeans and Aeolians, planted the Mycenaean culture in Asia Minor. But in Ionia this culture took deeper root than in Aeolis. Modified by oriental influences it developed into a civilisation which was proverbial for its luxury and effeminacy.

On their way to Asia Minor the Ionians colonised most of the Aegean islands which lay on their route. Among the islands thus Ionised were Naxos, Paros, Delos, Amoigios.

Although the bulk of the Ionian settlers in Asia seem to have come from Argolis, yet the greatness of Athens in historic times induced the Ionians both on the mainland and in the islands to honour Attica as their mother country.

§ 6. The Ionian settlements in Asia Minor became flourishing centres of trade from their very foundation. Ephesus and Miletus, the chief cities of Ionia, were both great Hittite marts from ancient days, and these passed into Ionian hands at the same era as did Colophon, Teos,

Clazomenae, Phocaea, Priene, Myus, Lebedus, Erythrae, and the two great islands of Chios and Samos³. These twelve states constituted the Ionic Dodecapolis, and were united in historical times by their joint celebration of the festival of the Apaturia, and the worship of Poseidon in the Amphictyony of Mycale.

§ 7. The Aeolians occupied another Dodecapolis, including Smyrna, Cyme, Aegaeae, Notium, and Grynea; Temnus, Larissa, Neon-Teichus, Myrrhina, Cilla, Aegiroessa. Besides these, they possessed Lesbos with its great city of Mitylene, and the lesser isles of Tenedos and Hecatonnesi. Of these Cyme soon took the lead; Smyrna became at a later date the great port of the Lydian kings. The remainder did not attain to anything approaching the prosperity of the Ionic cities, partly because of their less central position, partly because of the different genius of their founders, and because the population was inclined mainly to agriculture, and little to trade and navigation, the chief pursuits of the Ionians. Nevertheless, they are said to have founded not less than thirty new colonies in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Ida, amongst which were Atarneus and Adrammytium, and Sigæum on the Hellespont. Unluckily, they allowed the Ionians to deprive them of that most important position, in losing control of the Hellespont they lost half the trade of the Greek world.

§ 8. At some later date the Dorians also pushed eastward, tempted probably by the glowing accounts of the wealth of the Asiatic coast. They naturally followed the line of the Southern Cyclades, colonised Melos and Thera *en route*, and in particular completely filled Crete, where they reduced the existing inhabitants to a condition resembling that of the Helots in Laconia, and set up a polity externally resembling that of Sparta at a later date. From this point they passed to Rhodes, and occupied the ancient semi-Phoenician sites of Lindus, Ialysus, and Cameirus. Last of all they reached to Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus.

* As we saw in Ch. III. the Ionians probably passed originally across the Hellespont into Asia, whence they migrated into Greece. Their colonisation of Asia Minor was thus a return to their old home.

These, and the three Rhodian settlements, constituted the Doric Hexapolis,* united in the common worship of the Dorian Apollo at the Cape of Triopium

At about the same date, or even earlier, Cyprus received a number of Greek settlers. That island had long been a Phœnician land, and almost all its ancient names are Semitic in meaning. The new comers were too few to Hellenise the island, which remained to the last only half Greek. Its position indeed excluded it from the ordinary track of Grecian activity.

Doric Asia was known as Doris; the Ionic central part, as Ionia, the north-west, as Æolis. The name Ionia, like that of the Ionic Greeks, is often misused to include all Asiatic Greece, of whatever origin. We may take 900 B.C. as the latest date to which these great tribe-movements extended.

§ 9. There was a pause of a few years while the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus, and the Greeks who had made new homes in Asia Minor, settled down, and gathered vigour for further developments. The pause was but short. Already by the year 750 B.C. the original Asiatic settlement had been multiplied by numberless colonies, and the mother states, especially Megaris, Achæa, Corinth, and Eubœa, were sending forth almost yearly fresh bodies of colonists. This was the second movement, the age of state-directed colonisation.

These colonies were usually planted in furtherance of some definite policy: thus one series was intended to secure the great corn-trade with the plains of southern Russia by way of the Euxine and Hellespont; another, to acquire the control of the trade in corn and timber with Macedonia; a third sought to monopolise the trade of the western coasts and Italy by way of the Corinthian Gulf and Corcyra, a fourth was to occupy the fertile lands of Sicily.

* It afterwards became a Pentapolis owing to the expulsion of Halicarnassus. There seems to have been a strong Ionic element in this town, to which witness is borne by the tale of Agasicles, a citizen of Halicarnassus, who refused to dedicate, as was customary, a tripod, won in the games, to the Triopian Apollo, but carried it off to his own house. For this, the people of Halicarnassus were expelled from the Amphictyony.

§ 10 A Roman colony was merely a military outpost, intended to secure a conquest. A Greek ἀποικία, on the contrary, was only in exceptional cases intended for strategic purposes. The Roman colonist remained a full citizen of Rome; the Greek could only be a citizen of his colony, and by migrating thither he forfeited his franchise at home. The Roman colony was entirely under the control of the Roman state in politics and even in its constitution; the Greek usually indeed adopted the constitution of its metropolis, but was in politics entirely independent.

The Greek colony was, in fact, regarded as merely the child of its mother-state, to whom it owed such duty as a child owes to its mother. There was no obligation on either side, but Greek feeling expected each to help the other if need be, and viewed with detestation the spectacle of a colony and its metropolis at war with one another. If they could not be unanimous, they were at least to be neutral. The sole right of the mother-state was to appoint a leader (oecist, οἰκιστής) of the colony, and to see the expedition properly sent out. To this end it was usual to consult an oracle, Delphi above all, and hence arose the importance of that institution as the guide and adviser in colonisation,* a position to which the manifold connections of the Delphian priests gave them every title. If a colony desired to found another colony, the metropolis of the former was appealed to to provide an oecist for the latter, its grandchild. The oecist was revered as a hero after death, but the sole solid advantage of the position seems to have been the opportunity of leaving to one's descendants a dominant position. Hence the oecist was not seldom a noble whose ambition could find no scope for exercise at home.

§ 11. The initiative in this method of colonisation was taken by the two great trading cities of Euboea, Chalcis and Eretria, which despatched settlers to the triple peninsula of Macedonia, thenceforth known as Chalcidice. Other

* Delphi has been styled 'a well-trained emigration agency' which would-be settlers consulted when they went thither for the advice of the god.

cities soon joined the movement, and thus were created Methone and Torone (by 750 B.C.).* The activity of Chalcis was interrupted by the great Lelantine† War (c. 650), but not crippled, for she shortly afterwards founded Acanthus and Stageira.

§ 12. This policy was followed up by the semi-Dorian state of Megaris, whose territory was too small for its growing commercial populace, and where the misgovernment of the oligarchy provoked the desire for emigration. To this was due the occupation of the Hellespont and Propontis by the foundation of Chalcedon (675 B.C.), and Byzantium (657 B.C.)

§ 13. The Milesians had already moved in the same direction, and with far greater vigour. The genius of Miletus was especially adapted for colonisation, and that city became the starting-point of important undertakings not only for its own citizens, but also for those of the neighbouring towns. Their first settlement on the Euxine was Sinope (c. 770). From Sinope a further move was made eastwards to Trapezus (c. 757), while to the west the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont was secured by Abydos (c. 756) and Cyzicus (c. 715). After this their enterprise was for a time checked by the Cimmerian invasion, but about the middle of the seventh century they pushed up the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Here they secured the mouths of the great rivers, the Danube, Dniester, Hypanis (*Bug*), Borysthenes (*Dniester*), by the foundation of Istrus, Tyras, and Olbia (c. 650). Advancing still further in the circumnavigation of the Euxine, they made the trade of the Crimea their own by their settlements at

* The dates of all these colonies are very uncertain, those here given are only approximate

† This was a commercial war waged between two rival commercial leagues. At the head of one League was Eretria, Athens, Aegina, Megara, the Argolic sea-states, and Miletus, were members, this alliance controlled the commercial route from Asia to the West by the coast of Peloponnesus. At the head of the rival League was Corinth, Chalcis, Samos (the trade rival of Miletus) and Naxos were members. The league controlled the route which passed by the Isthmus of Corinth, across which ships were carried by means of a tramway. This trade-route was the shorter, and soon superseded the rival one.

Theodosia and Panticapaeum. They even traversed the Sea of Azof, and founded a commercial town on the Tanais (*Don*). Opposite Panticapaeum they planted Phanagoria, and so made the Cimmerian Bosphorus a Greek strait. With the settlement of Phasis in Colchis they completely girdled the Euxine. It is said that altogether, directly or indirectly, Miletus planted no fewer than eighty colonies on the shores of that sea.

The chain of colonies in this quarter was completed by the towns of Perinthus (Samian), Abdera in Thrace (Clazomenaeans), and by the island of Thasos, which the Parians occupied for the sake of its gold and silver mines.

§ 14. Meantime the Greeks had heard of the wealth and resources of the Western Mediterranean, Italy and Sicily and Spain, and thither they speedily followed the Phoenicians. They found the mastery of these waters divided between the Phoenicians of Carthage (to whom belonged Sicily also and the coast of Spain,) and the pirate fleets of Etruria, which claimed the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Despite these rivals, the Greeks of Cyme in Euboea had established a colony at Cumae on the northern shore of the Bay of Naples, at a date quite beyond record—probably about 800 B.C.* It was not, however, until about 750 B.C. that—the east being already in a fair way to become the monopoly of the Ionians and the Aeolians of Asia—the European Greeks turned their attention to the west. The immediate incentive was the foundation of Rhegium (c. 743 B.C.) by Ionians from Chalcis, of Naxos (735 B.C.) on the east coast of Sicily by the same people in conjunction with the Naxians, and of Zancle, later Messina (728 B.C.) by bands of Greeks from Cumae. This was the signal for the Dorians and the Achaeans to construct in the west a colonial power as a counterpoise to the power of their

* Abbott follows Duncker in placing the foundation of Cumae subsequent to the settling of Rhegium and Zancle (c. 750). He argues that these connecting stations must have been in existence before the colonisation of an isolated spot like Cumae was possible. "Even if it did exist, the so-called colony can have been nothing more than an isolated band of pirates."

rivals in the east. Corinth led the way by sending out one of the Bacchiadae, Aichias, who was expelled for a brutal act of violence at home. He founded Syracuse in 734 B.C.

Megara, rival of Corinth on the isthmus, with a view to sharing her rival's trade in the west, followed her example and founded Megara Hyblaea (728 B.C.). The colony did not flourish, for Sicily was peopled by native tribes, Sicels and Sicans, who preferred to be friendly with Carthage rather than with Greece. Megara Hyblaea is famous only as the mother-city of Selinus (628 B.C.). Only one other Dorian colony was planted directly from the mother-land, when in 690 B.C. the Dorians of Rhodes and Crete founded Lindii, afterwards famous as Gela. It was the marvellous prosperity of these few foundations which made Sicily a Dorian isle by their planting fresh posts in all directions. So Gela founded Acragas or Agrigentum (582 B.C.); Syracuse founded Camarina (599 B.C.). The people of Naxos in their turn sent out colonists to Leontini and Catana (both in 729 B.C.), but as the Megarians also gave assistance, these offshoots were half Dorian. From Zancle, afterwards known as Messina, sprang Mylae and Himera (648 B.C.), both on the north coast of the island. There were neither Aeolians nor Achaeans in Sicily.

§ 15. The Achaeans, however, who naturally moved westward from their new home in the Peloponnese, overran Southern Italy, where they founded the proverbially luxurious Sybaris (721 B.C.) and Croton (710 B.C.). These two cities rapidly threw off other settlements which made the whole of the southern shore of Italy so Hellenic that it acquired the name of Magna Graecia. Between them they possessed twenty-five dependent towns, and ruled over four distinct native tribes. The Dorians got foothold only to Tarentum, founded by the fugitive Partheniae* (708 B.C.) from Sparta, and the Aeolians occupied Locri Epizephyrni (683, or according to others 673, B.C.), while Cumae sent out a number of offshoots in its own vicinity. The Ionians occupied the site of Rhegium, which, with their other

* See pp. 92-93 and footnote.

colony of Zancle, gave them complete command of the Straits of Messina (by 720 B.C.).*

§ 16. The Ionians of Phocæa were pre-eminent for their spirit of enterprise even among the Asiatic Greeks. This, however, was due rather to necessity than choice. Their early settlements on the Dardanelles and Black Sea soon fell into the hands of the Milesians, and they were forced to go further afield. By 600 B.C. Sicily and Italy were already occupied, so "they started where other Greeks left off." Their chief settlement was the remote Massilia (*Marseilles*) which was founded about 600 B.C. With this as their central station, they established outposts eastwards down to the Gulf of Genoa, among them Olbia, Antipolis (*Antibes*), Nicaea (*Nice*), Monoecus (*Monaco*); while westwards towards the Pyrenees they settled at Agathe (*Agde*) and Emporiae. By this time they had long been owners of a busy trade with Southern and Eastern Spain, the land of Tartessus or Tarshish. When Ionia was conquered by the Persians (545 B.C.) they settled at Alalia in Corsica, but were driven out in 535 B.C. by the Etruscans.

§ 17. The Sicilian Greeks had by the year 600 B.C. cooped up the Carthaginians within the western corner of the island, where they maintained for many centuries their great marts of Motye, Drepanum, and Panormus. The city of Gela at first acquired the supremacy of the island, but about 485 B.C., its tyrant Gelo removed to Syracuse, which then became the chief city. In Italy, Sybaris and Croton settled their internecine rivalries, only by the razing of the former city (510 B.C.), and the power of both alike passed to Dorian Tarentum. Most of these western colonies were oligarchic down to the latest times, and Sicily was specially notorious for the tenacity of despotism in its cities. Phalaris was the first, making himself despot of Agrigentum as early as 750 B.C.

* In the position of the Rhegium, Locri, Croton, Sybaris, Metapontum, and Tarentum, Curtius sees a proof of the colonising wisdom of Delphi. "These cities lie distributed with so evident a purpose and in such measured distances from one another, that it is impossible to conceive their origin to have resulted from anything but a mutual understanding or the influence of an expert superintendence (i.e. Delphi)."

§ 18. The colonial policy of Corinth aimed at securing the control of the Adriatic Sea and coast of Western Greece. To this end she occupied the island of Corcȳra about 715 B.C.* The latter developed so speedily that the mother-city found it necessary to attempt to coerce her colony by force, and in 664 B.C. was fought the greatest naval battle remembered by the early Greeks. Cypselus of Corinth established settlements at Ambracia on the Aracthus, at Anactorium and Leucas, for the purpose of checking the power of Corcȳra. The Corcȳraeans retorted by founding Epidamnus (afterwards Dyrrachium) in 625 B.C., and it was not until the days of Periander that Corcȳra was reduced to submission. Periander carried out a consistent policy with regard to the colonies, and when he died Corinth was the acknowledged suzerain of all the parts of Greece about Acarnania and Aetolia, as far up as Epidamnus. The navy of Corcȳra was to Western Greece what that of Athens ultimately became to the eastern coasts and the Aegean.

§ 19. The colony of Naucratis has been mentioned already; but Egyptian exclusiveness could not keep the Greeks out of the more westerly parts of the coast of North Africa. There was but one spot which could possibly invite colonists, the oasis of Cyrene. Thither about 633 B.C. the advice of the Delphian oracle sent some Minyan exiles from Thera and some Laconians. After sundry misadventures they established themselves in defiance of the opposition of the natives, and under the Dynasty of the Battadae (sons of Battus) they rose to a high degree of wealth, mainly from their trade in the drug silphium, which came to be a proverb for a means of making money. Cyrene founded Barca and Hesperides. The further history of Cyrene and Barca is told below, † they played a part in the main outside the range of Hellenic affairs.

§ 20. A glance at the map will show the value of these widespread colonies to the motherland. By their means

* The island was occupied by colonists from Eretria (the chief city of the commercial league which was in rivalry with that of which Corinth was head) and the Corinthians drove these out

† See pp. 138-139.

Greece commanded all the produce of the world as it was then known: the colonies of Miletus to the north-east drew to themselves whatever could be got from Central Europe and the region of the Caucasus and Crimea, those of Corcyra in the Adriatic met the old trade route across the Tyrolese Alps to the land of the Veneti, and the overland route between the Balkan and Italian peninsulas; through Cumae passed all the Graeco-Etruscan trade in pottery and bronzes; through Massilia the trade to Britain across Central Gaul, and the coast traffic with wealthy Spain. To Agrigentum came the produce of Carthaginian Africa and its trade round the western shores of Africa as far as the Canaries and Kamerun, to Cyrene came the ivory and metals of Central Africa; to Naucratis the output of Egyptian manufacture; and the circle of the world (of that date) was completed by the traders of Cyprus and Ionia, who acquired, by sea from Phoenicia or by land from Carchemish and Sardis, all the spices and treasures of Arabia and India and the fabulous lands still further away to the north and east of the Himalayas.

CHAPTER VII

HELLENES AND HELLENISM.

§ 1 Hellenes and Barbarians — § 2 Physical Characteristics of the Hellene — § 3 Other Characteristics — § 4 Religion — § 5 Athletic Festivals — § 6 The Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games — § 7 The Amphictyonies. — § 8 Delphi — § 9 Effects of this Amphictyony on Greek History — § 10. Influence of Delphi — § 11 Centrifugal Propensities of the Greek State — § 12 Effects of this — § 13. Internal Factions — § 14 The Life of the Greek Citizen — § 15 Women in Greece — § 16. Slavery.

§ 1. ACCORDING to mythology, Hellen, king of Phthia in Thessaly, had three sons, Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Aeolus was father of the Aeolians, Dorus of the Dorians, and from Achaeus and Ion, sons of Xuthus, came the Achaeans and Ionians. The myth means simply that the later Greeks, while distinguishing four principal tribes within themselves, yet believed themselves all members of the same one race. By the mythical Hellen they explained the name Hellenes, and all other nations, no matter how civilised, they included under the one epithet of "Barbarian" (*βάρβαροι*),* *i.e.*, non-Hellenic. The Hellenes were in reality one of the earlier Aryan-speaking tribes who settled in Greece.

§ 2. Physically the Hellenes were models of perfect development. A good climate, constant living in the open air, restless activity of mind and body, and a comparatively high stage of morality, tended to maintain or improve this perfection, in so much that physical deformity was regarded almost as a crime, while mere facial ugliness was viewed as

* Literally "men of confused speech," "the unintelligible", any one speaking a non-Hellenic tongue. It has not the derogatory sense of the English word "Barbarian," and does not necessarily imply savagery.

a heavy misfortune. The "Greek type," so-called, has high broad forehead; nose straight and thin, with large oval nostrils and slightly-marked bridge, large light-coloured eyes, large and somewhat full-lipped mouth; and rounded chin. The hair was curly, approaching to chestnut in colour (*ξανθός*), and was originally worn long*. The stature was tall, the hands and feet big, but perfectly shaped.

§ 3 Herodotus makes a Hellene sum up the common characteristics of his race under four heads—community of blood, of language, of religion, and of customs. In blood they were, if remotely, still certainly allied, seeing that foreign elements, if introduced at all, were rapidly absorbed by the more vigorous Hellenic blood. In language the distinction of Hellene and Barbarian marked an actual fact; all Hellenes spoke the same tongue. There were divergencies of pronunciation indeed, and these so wide as to make the speech of the Dorian very markedly unlike that of the Ionian, and both again very different from the others. Each of these so-called dialects had its peculiar phonetic and even inflectional laws. The Dorian spoke broadly,† as mountaineers usually do; the Ionian spoke mellifluously, and favoured uncontracted vowel sounds,‡ the Aeolian had exceptional characteristics. § Under these broader heads fall a multitude of less divergent dialects, for each village not infrequently had its peculiar forms, and in Euboea alone there were as many as 120. The so-called Attic idiom was merely that of the literary circles of Athens, and was a variety of Ionian; while in Ionia itself Herodotus speaks of four distinct dialects. Nevertheless, one Greek could understand another wherever he went; and in this sense the Hellenes spoke but one language.

§ 4 In religion and customs Hellenism had certain marked peculiarities. In so far as all Hellas possessed one

* Homer speaks of *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. This custom remained longest with the Ionians, but even the severe Spartan warriors wore the hair long, and made a point of marching to battle with their locks carefully dressed.

† *πλαταιασμός*. Thus *η* and *ω* became *α* very commonly.

‡ See any part of Herodotus' writings.

§ *Eg*, in participles—*ουσα* for *ουσα*, and the long retention of the digamma (*ϝ*), in the Boeotian idiom.

mythology and one religion, embodied in the writings of Homer and Hesiod as in a Bible, it was one united country. Amongst the most enduring of moral bonds is that of a common creed, and the men who were fighting to the death but yesterday for a few yards of debatable ground would to-day be feasting amicably together in honour of some common deity.

The Greek was exceedingly religious and exceedingly superstitious. His vague ideas of the unseen world enabled him readily to adopt all sorts of divinities from his neighbours, whether Hellenes or Barbarians. Everybody's god was his god, and he denied this only in the case of a Moloch. Accordingly, while throughout Hellas there were hundreds of local cults and a hundred special titles for almost every deity in Olympus, none of the Olympian deities was exclusively the deity of any one section of the Hellenes. Each state and each tribe had its special tutelary divinities, as Apollo with the Dorians, Poseidon with the Ionians, Aphrodite at Corinth, Pallas at Athens; but no Hellene was debarred from the same worship. If he chanced upon a deity strange to him, he gave it a name from his own Olympus with a special adjective to mark its peculiar features—Zeus Apomyios, Artemis Laphreia, Athene Chalceocucus.

Religion influenced every action of a Greek's life. The year was a continual round of festivals and sacrifices, mostly maintained by the state at large, but not seldom the peculiar duty of some distinguished family in the state. And everywhere the Greek was confronted with the altars, shrines, temples, and statues, which he erected in honour of his deities, while even his private home and hearth was under the protection of its special god or hero, for ancestor-worship was as pronounced in Greece as in Rome, and the *manes* of the dead were as much an object of solicitude in the one land as in the other.

Polytheistic religions are essentially unsatisfactory, and the Greek was unfortunate too in his traditional views of the state after death. It was to meet the want felt in these directions that he so readily welcomed the various mysteries, or secret cults, which came to him from the less

mundane religions of the east, and endeavoured to present a truer and purer view of the unity of the deity and of the life after death. Especially celebrated were the Eleusinian mysteries, which were guarded from divulgence with the most jealous care, and were furnished with an elaborate ministry and ritual in the hands of the Eumolpidae, a Thessalian family at Eleusis

§ 5 In matters terrestrial the Greek held personal beauty in the highest honour. His aim was proportion (*εὐκοσμία*) in all things. As usually happens, he transferred to his deities his own likes and dislikes, and worshipped the gods with gymnastic festivals, in which men ran and wrestled in nakedness—a thing which, says Thucydides, no Barbarian (*i.e.* no Persian) would have tolerated. The first origin of such festivals is lost in antiquity. In historical times there were four recognised as international—the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian—and the three latter were all imitations of that at Olympia, which was by far the most important, though centred in the otherwise unimportant state of Elis. There are traces of this festival at Pisa even while the Phoenicians traded there, and the *stadium*, or race-course, was said to have been measured by Hercules' foot. At first purely local, it soon extended to the whole of Hellas. None might compete save those who could show purely Hellenic descent, the entire festival was under the control of local officers named for the purpose (Hellanodicae), who possessed the right to refuse admission either to individuals or to entire states. Once in four years came the contest, and then the soil of Elis was under a "truce of God," and whoso did violence during that time was guilty of sacrilege. The festival lasted about five days.

§ 6. It was in the year 776 B.C. that the festival came to be accepted as the common means of calculating dates for all Hellas, and henceforth all events were described as occurring in such and such a year of (*i.e.* after) such and such an Olympiad*.

* One Olympiad is four years. To reduce Olympiads to years B.C.: multiply the number of the Olympiad by 4, and add to the result the odd years, if any, and subtract the result from 781. *E.g.*, Olympiad 81 $2 = 781 - (81 \times 4 + 2) = 781 - 326 = 455$ B.C. Conversely, to reduce

At first confined to foot-racing, the programme was soon extended to include all kinds of gymnastics—leaping, wrestling, and throwing the *discus* and javelin—as well as a combination of all five known as the pentathlon. Then were added chariot-races with teams of two and four horses or of mules, mounted races, and exercises for boys*. The winner received no more substantial reward than a wreath of the sacred wild olive of Olympia, but he was forthwith famous. Men spent their fortunes on the chance of a prize, in the certainty that, if successful, their state would well repay them. At Athens a victor received 500 minae as a gift, and public maintenance in the Prytaneum. His statue was set up, amongst those of other victors, at Olympia, and it was one Coroebus of Corinth, whose victory in the foot-race of 776 B.C., first received this honour. Scarce a state of Hellas but sent to the festival its public representatives (*θεωροί, θεωρία*), and the great poets and orators and prose-writers of the time attended to extol the winners and to recite, before an audience assembled from the entire Grecian world, specimens of their work. The festival came to be a contest of *littérateurs* as well as of athletes; and here met all the intellect and culture of Hellas as in a vast club†. Nothing did so much to impress upon the Hellenes their racial unity as did the Olympic festival and the less important meetings elsewhere. The event served the purpose of the press of to-day, and enabled

years B.C. to Olympiads subtract the year B.C. from 781, and divide the result by 4
$$E.g., 455 \text{ B.C.} = \frac{781 - 455}{4} = \text{Ol } 81.2$$
 A good deal of confusion has arisen about dates owing to the fact that an Olympic year lasts from July to July. Thus Olympiad 81.2 extends from July 455 to July 454, and 455 B.C. belongs from January to July to Ol 81.1, while July to December belongs to Ol 81.2.

* The dates are as follows:—At first a foot-race in the Stadium (race-course), 210 yards, about 724 B.C. the *διὰ νηος*, a foot-race to the goal and back, about 720 B.C. the *δολιχός*, a long race, in which the distance of the Stadium had to be covered a number of times varying from 6 to 29, in 708 B.C., the pentathlon; in 688 B.C., boxing, in 680 B.C., chariot-racing in the hippodrome (the distance covered was from 2 to 3 miles), in 648 B.C., the pancratium, wrestling, and boxing, in 520 B.C., race in armour.

† Herodotus is said to have recited his histories at Olympia.

all Hellenes to learn in person the fortunes of their fellows in all parts of the world.

The minor festivals of Nemea, Corinth, and Delphi (the Pythian) occurred in the years between two Olympic meetings, and served the same purpose on a lesser scale.* Every state also had its own special festival confined to its own members, as the Panathenaea at Athens and the Hyacinthia at Sparta.

§ 7. Another feature of Greek religion was the Amphictyony. The Amphictyony of historical times is concerned however with politics rather than with pleasure. It was the union of a number of states—usually very small—to protect and further the interests of one common shrine. Such were the Amphictyonies of Poseidon at Calauria, of the Triopian Apollo in the Dorian Hexapolis, of Poseidon on the promontory of Mycale in the Ionian Dodecapolis, and others at Iolcus, Onchesmus, and Tenos. It is noticeable that almost all are centred on the coast, betokening the spread of civilisation and intercourse by sea. Being “exclusive religious federations” they admitted none but members of the constituent states, and used religion as a lever in politics. Such a system was, however, not congenial to the Greek who was too long-sighted to confound Church and State. The Amphictyonies early lost their power. the Calaurian League was the oldest,† but that of which we know most is the Delphian Amphictyony, and this will serve as an example of all

§ 8. It was concerned with the worship of Apollo (at whose temple at Delphi the Dorians during their wanderings had established a priesthood) though it dated from a still earlier period. It comprised twelve tribes, falling into three

* The Isthmian and Nemean games were celebrated twice in a period of four years, the Pythian, once. Their order was as follows: Nemean, in July at end of first year of the Olympiad, Isthmian, in spring of the second year, Pythian, in August at the beginning of the third year, Nemean again, in July at the end of the third year, Isthmian again, in the spring of the fourth year. [There is some doubt with regard to the Nemean.]

† The Amphictyony of Calauria dated from the Mycenaean period. It was the nucleus of the great commercial League of which Eretria was the head (see p. 48)

groups of four each. in Northern Greece were the Thessalians, Perrhaebians, Magnetes, and the Achaeans of Phthiotis; about the Maliae Gulf the Aenianes, Malians, Dolopes, and Locians; further south the Boeotians, Phocians, Ionians, and Dorians. The great antiquity of the original foundation is best shown by the fact that it ranked the Dorians and Ionians side by side with petty tribes like the Dolopes and Aenianes, and by the use of the tribal names of Dorian and Ionian instead of the names of states, *e.g.* Athens and Sparta.

§ 9 Twice a year, at Delphi in the spring and at Thermopylae in the autumn, there met a synod of two members from each tribe (Hieromnemones, "wardens of holy things"), and each member had a single vote. The synod took, on behalf of their respective states, an oath "not to cut off water from any Greek city in a state of siege, or to raze the dwelling of any Greek." This oath remained to the latest times—a first attempt to ameliorate the horrors of a condition of continual war. The results of the influence of this Amphictyony are thus summed up by Curtius—

"Thus the insignificant beginning of common annual festivals gradually came to transform the whole of public life, the constant carrying of arms was given up, intercourse was rendered safe, and the sanctity of temples and altars recognised. But the most important result of all was that the members of the Amphictyony learnt to regard themselves as one united body against those standing outside it, out of a number of tribes arose a nation, which required a common name to distinguish it, and its political and religious system, from all other tribes"—*Hist. Greece*, vol. 1, p. 117

§ 10 Thanks to the Amphictyony, the Delphic oracle became the centre of Greek religion. Its priestess, the Pytho, gave answers in hexameter verse to all who consulted her—answers sometimes far-seeing, sometimes silly, and clever only in the facility with which they might be interpreted in a double way. Its fame spread beyond Hellas, and there came to it offerings from Asia, Africa, and Italy.*

* Phrygian princes sent gifts as early as 740 B.C. The generosity of Croesus has been mentioned, p. 17. The Tarquins of Rome are said to have paid homage to the oracle.

Originally it was employed in support of political ends; though it was never asked to initiate, but always to confirm a policy, then it became a kind of father-confessor to the Greek conscience;* and finally it was consulted on all manner of questions, public and private. So many were those who came to consult it, that the priests were the best informed circle in Greece on all matters of home and foreign politics. Hence the value of their advice in matters such as the settling of a colony, or the commencement of a war. They often abused their knowledge and their power; but again they proved themselves such able advisers that the influence of the oracle long out-lived the fear of the gods.

§ 11. Despite these bonds of union, political disunion was inherent in the Hellene. Unless restrained by the superior force of the tyrant or of oligarchy, the doctrine of individual liberty ran to the extremest lengths, and even when the masses were under control, the state itself, no matter how insignificant, claimed absolute freedom and policy (*αὐτονομία*), and entire control of its own affairs.

"The Greek state was a city, not a nation. If we think of an English county with a single city and its surrounding territory, and imagine it independent and sovereign, we shall have more idea of one of the largest Greek states than if we compare it with a modern nation."—A. C. BRADLEY, in *Hellenica*, p. 183.

§ 12. In large measure, this was due to the physical features of the land which divided Greece Proper into a multitude of little sections. The result of it was that Hellas was not only never united,† but always torn by intestine wars. A common danger, or more often a common hatred, might induce a large part of the nation to combine against a foreign foe, as in the case of the Persian Wars, or to take sides in a civil struggle like the Peloponnesian War. But the bond was always of the slightest. The centrifugal spirit was strong enough to weaken the nation as a whole,

* It demanded that those polluted by guilt should be expelled from their state.

† The largest federation ever attained in the days of Greek prosperity was that of Delos (476 B.C. *fol.*), which was only organised under the pressure of imminent fear, and began to dissolve as early as 466 B.C.

to wear out its factors in detail, and finally to throw it open to foreign dominion. It was so that the Achaeans fell before the Dorians; and so Argos and Sparta, both Dorian states, remained the bitterest of foes.

§ 13 Similarly within the smallest town the strength of political feelings led to endless faction (*στάσεις*). The man who professed no political opinions was regarded as a useless, if not a dangerous neighbour, in so much that Solon ordered penalties upon him who remained neutral during a time of *stasis*. Rich *versus* poor, privileged *versus* unprivileged, oligarchs *versus* democrats—these antitheses always furnished material enough for strife. History shows how this was so at Sparta and Athens, we may accept it as a truth applying to *all* Greek states.

§ 14 Though the Greek lived out of doors, he disliked a country life as monotonous and brutalising,* and he regarded a handicraft as vulgar (*βάνανος*). His pastime was to mix with his fellows in the Agora (place of assembly), and there hear the day's news, listen to the harangues of politicians, and give his vote at discretion.

"The citizen, in a state like Athens, took part in politics personally, not through a representative, not once in four or five years, but habitually."†

In Homeric times only the noble had freedom of speech: by the time of the first Olympiad the people at large were awakening to the sense of their rights, and the era of political struggle was already begun.

Such a life made the Hellenes witty and versatile, while it had the simultaneous result of making them indolent,

* There was of course a very considerable country population, and the land was never so completely given up to slave-culture as that of Italy in the second century B.C. In Arcadia, country life was the only possible one, and there were no towns worth the name. The names of Boeotia and Euboea betray the pastoral character of their inhabitants. Attica in particular maintained a large peasant population, down to the Peloponnesian War, when once the Solonian legislation had given it a fair status on the soil. The "land-question" was usually prominent in Greek political disputes, and the "Redistribution of Lands" (*γῆς ἀναδιασμός*) was a favourite cry of revolutionists.

† A. C. BRADLEY, in *Hellenica*, p. 183.

unstable, and devoid of perseverance. The average Greek knew a very little about a great many things, was a clever talker, above all was muscular. Education had for him but two sides, Gymnastics and Music: the former included the full and proper development of every muscle in the exercises of the *palaestra* and in war, the latter embraced a rote-knowledge of Homer's poetry, the accomplishments of playing and singing to the lyre, and—at least at a later date—reading and writing. His code of morality was not quite the highest. Monogamy was universal, but the duties of a husband were only laxly recognised, however strictly those of a wife were exacted. From the dislike of weakly and deformed children, exposure was always allowed in theory, and was probably much practised in early times. Except in grave cases, homicide was a crime to be punished by heaven rather than by man, and human justice could be avoided even then by the act of taking refuge at an altar.

§ 15 The Hellenic women had far less freedom than in Homeric times. Under the pressure of Oriental ideas they came to be more and more secluded, particularly in the Ionic cities, where Eastern influences were strongest. The women of Sparta occupied an exceptional position. For the most part the business and purpose of a wife was considered to pertain solely to the nursery, and she led a hopelessly dull existence, with the alternative of ill repute if she asserted her rights and endeavoured to associate with her fellow-creatures. Only in the case of certain religious ceremonies was she allowed full liberty, and too often the liberty so rarely granted was disgracefully abused.

§ 16 The institution of slavery was not peculiar to the Greeks. The prisoner of war, the captured criminal, or the penniless debtor, were the personal property of the captor or creditor, to slay or to enslave, and the latter was the more profitable as well as the more merciful course. The slaves were mainly the primitive inhabitants whom an invading people had conquered (as was the case with the Helots of Laconia and Messenia), or were of foreign race, mostly Thracians and Asiatics. Their numbers may be estimated from the fact that the population of Athens in the fifth century B.C., contained no less than eighty per cent. of

slaves In the main they were distributed about the towns and engaged in petty trades and handicrafts. serfdom on the land was rather the exception than the rule Their treatment varied with the locality, but speaking generally, slave-life in Greece was easily endurable, and the slave's humanity was recognised to a degree not attained to elsewhere in the ancient world Many of them were actual favourites, secretaries, or confidential agents, or the tutors of young Greeks.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SPARTAN STATE.

§ 1 Laconia.—§ 2. Early Inhabitants —§ 3. Conquest of Amyclae and the Double Monarchy —§ 4 Another Theory.—§ 5. Lycurgus. § 6. The Gerousia and the Apella —§ 7. The Ephorate.—§ 8. The Kings.—§ 9. Training of the Spartans.—§ 10. The Hypomeiones —§ 11 The Perioeci.—§ 12. The Helots.

§ 1. **LACONIA**, which legend names as the third and least desirable of the districts shared amongst the Dorians, consists of little more than the narrow valley of the Eurotas shut in between the two lofty mountain ranges of Parnon and Taygetus, which run north and south, and terminate in Capes Malea and Taenarum. The upper portion of this valley grows more and more hilly until it loses itself in the Arcadian mountains; the east coast offered few attractions beyond the small plain of Cynuria. Only the bay into which the Eurotas falls was such as to invite settlers from the sea.

§ 2. We mentioned above* that when the Dorians invaded Laconia they found a strong Achæan monarchy established at Amyclae. The native inhabitants were probably Leleges, for the land was in very early times called Lelegia; and these Leleges were one of the peoples forming the Aegean or Mycenaean culture of 2000—1000 B.C. The Achæans reduced them to subjection, but assimilated their civilisation. Other Aryan-speaking tribes in addition to the Achæans had found their way to Laconia before the coming of the Dorians; for we hear of Cadmeans and Minyans here as well as in Boeotia.

* Ch. V., § 7.

§ 3. The Dorian invaders, who were probably weak in numbers, formed a kind of garrison-camp at Sparta on the banks of the Eurotas, and from this basis they pushed slowly but steadily southwards. It was many years before they overthrew the Achaeans in their fortress of Amyclae, when at length Amyclae fell, a strong detachment of Dorians was probably sent to keep the conquered city in subjection; so that there existed side by side for some time two Dorian communities in Laconia, Sparta and Amyclae, each under a Dorian chieftain or "king." When it became clear that the two divisions could not separately maintain their position, they coalesced and formed a single city-state at Sparta. The terms of the coalition were that each community should keep its king, and that the two kings should rule at Sparta with equal privileges and powers.

The above is the most probable theory of the origin of the double kingship at Sparta. The king of the settlement at Sparta belonged to the clan of the Agidae; while the king of the Dorians at Amyclae belonged to the clan of the Eurypontidae. "The kingship passed from father to son in the two royal houses of the Agids and Eurypontids; and if the Agid kings possessed a slight superiority in public estimation over their colleagues, this may have been due to the fact that the Eurypontids were the strangers who migrated to Sparta."*

§ 4. The legend of the return of the Heraclidae† represents both kings as descendants of Heracles, and therefore as Achaeans. This is in the highest degree improbable, but it is just possible that, when Amyclae yielded to the Dorians, one of the terms was that the chief should continue to belong to an Achaean clan. In this case one of the Spartan kings would be a Dorian, the other an Achaean. It is reported that king Cleomenes (508 B.C.) said he was "no Dorian, but an Achaean," and it is certain that bitter hatred subsisted between the royal houses. The Agidae and the Eurypontidae never intermarried, they were always jealous of one another.

* Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 121.

† Ch V.

§ 5. Although nothing is known with certainty, we may infer that, by the close of the ninth century B.C., the jealousies of the rival kings and their joint resistance to the growing interference of their fellow Spartans had brought the State to a disastrous condition. This ended when Lycurgus came forward to reform the constitution; and thenceforward Sparta was a proverb to all Greece for stability, good government, and strength.

Of Lycurgus himself nothing is known*. The assent of the people to the new organisation was secured by Ordinances (*Rhetrae*), containing in the very briefest form of command instructions as to the arrangement of the council, kings, and people.

§ 6 The whole of the Dorians (*Spartiatæ*) in the State were organised as a military body in three companies or tribes—the old divisions of Dymanatae,† Hylleis, and Pamphyli—and each tribe again into ten *obæ*. These were probably merely local divisions. Each *oba* furnished one senator, over sixty years of age, holding office for life, the whole thirty forming the *Gerousia*, or “assembly of the old men.” Of these, two were the reigning kings, while the remainder were probably elected.

The *Gerousia* represented the *boulé* of the Homeric poems; its primary function was to act as a consultative body to the kings. It also, like the Athenian *boulé* of 500, prepared measures for the popular assembly, and it had jurisdiction in capital cases. The *Gerontes* were chosen by the people (voting by acclamation) only members of noble clans being eligible.

The assembly of the people (*Apella*) was, in the words of the *Rhetra*, “to have the supreme power.” The people elected the magistrates and the *Gerontes*, decided questions of war and peace and treaties with foreign states, and had some slight legislative power. They voted by acclamation on preliminary decrees laid before them by the *Gerousia*; these decrees they had either to accept or reject without

* The latest view is that Lycurgus was an Arcadian god or hero worshipped at Sparta. In any case he can only have been responsible for the social and military, not the political, institutions of Sparta.

† Another form of the word is *Dymānes*.

debate; only the kings, Gerontes, or ephors were allowed to discuss the proposals. But even the power to accept or reject measures was curtailed at an early date. About the year 750 B.C. it was enacted that the kings or Gerousia, if they did not approve of the decision of the assembly, could render it null and void by the simple process of refusing to make a formal proclamation of it.

§ 7 Magistrates called Ephors (Overseers) were first appointed about the middle of the eighth century, to undertake the civil jurisdiction and other functions of the kings during the absence of the latter on military service. Five ephors were appointed annually, at first by the kings, later by the Apella, which probably nominated a certain number, from whom five were selected by lot. During the course of the seventh century, when Sparta was beset by enemies, there seems to have been a democratic reaction against the powers of the king and Gerousia, a conflict ensued in which the Ephors rallied to the side of the people; and finally a compromise was effected by which the ephors gained the right of exercising control over the kings, and checking any tendencies towards a despotism, while on the other hand they undertook to support the king in his rule, so long as that rule was constitutional. Such was the origin of the great political power of the Ephorate.

In historic times we find the Ephors established as an irresponsible oligarchy. They exercised a constant watch on the conduct of the kings, they could order the arrest of a king without warrant, they could summon a king to appear before them and punish him with a fine, two of their number controlled the actions of the kings in the field. They exercised supervision over all magistrates, and saw that the peculiar Spartan discipline was maintained; they presided over and controlled the Apella and the Gerousia; they received embassies; they had supreme civil jurisdiction. The only securities against abuse of their power were the short duration of the office, and the fact that the consent of three out of the five was required for all important measures.

§ 8. The duties of the kings in historic times have been

described by Herodotus. In war they were the commanders-in-chief, but owing to their disastrous quarrels in the field, only one eventually accompanied the army in a campaign, and his authority was almost neutralised by a body of ten commissioners. At home they were liable to constant interference on the part of the Ephors, who were empowered to bring them for trial if they judged their conduct unsatisfactory. They acted also as judges, especially in family disputes, *e.g.* when several of the next of kin claimed in marriage a heiress whose father was dead, and in case of adoption. As priests they sacrificed for the whole people in war, and at all public feasts they received a double portion of food.

§ 9. From the cradle to the age of sixty years the Spartans lived under control. If at birth they failed to satisfy the Ephors they were exposed to perish on Taygetus; if approved, they were allowed seven years of home training, and then passed under the care of the Paedonomi. For years they were drilled in martial and athletic exercises, sleeping on beds of grass or the bare ground, fed on insufficient food, clothed in the same single garment at all seasons alike, bareheaded and barefooted, their sole intellectual attainments being a knowledge of reading and writing and of certain martial poets such as Tyrtæus, their chief virtues obedience, endurance, and the thievishness which escapes detection. The guls were trained just as carefully if less severely. Boys and guls alike were distributed into companies. After the age of twenty all Spartans became members of the public messes (*Phiditia*, *Syssitia*), and were compelled to attend on pain of severe penalties. Here they grew up to the full age of thirty years, contributing each his monthly quota of the barley meal, figs, cheese, and wine, which formed their only food. At thirty they were full Peers (*ἄμωροι*) entitled to all privileges.

In order to find means for paying their share to the *Phiditia*, it was needful that each Spartan household should possess wealth, and as bullion in any shape was prohibited, this wealth took the shape of land. The Spartans occupied that part of the fertile valley of the Eurotas which extended

from Pellene and Sellasia to the sea, and was bounded on east and west by the ranges of Parnon and Taygetus respectively. According to tradition, Lycurgus divided the territory into 9000 equal lots.

§ 10. As the Spartan population fluctuated, it was inevitable that there should arise a poorer class who, while true Spartans by blood, yet could not afford the requisite mess-contributions. In consequence they forfeited their position as members of the *Phiditia* and of the assembly, and formed an ever-increasing class known as the *Hypomeiones* (Inferiors), whose discontent soon made them a restless and dangerous element in the state.

§ 11. Thus far we have spoken only of the Spartans. There remain two other classes in the state, the *Perioeci* and the *Helots*.

Such of the Dorian conquerors of Laconia as did not settle at Sparta or Amyclae established themselves as colonists in the Achæan towns and villages, and intermingled with the Achæan population, who thus became more or less Dorized. The inhabitants of these Dorized communities were called *Perioeci*, "those that dwell round about"; and the Spartans and *Perioeci* were both called *Lacedæmonians*. After the coalition between the Dorians of Sparta and those of Amyclae, Sparta became the ruling state in Laconia, and the *Perioeci*, though personally free, became the subjects of Sparta. They all had a measure of local autonomy, varying in degree according to the conditions under which they had submitted to the Spartan rule; in some cases the local administration was in the hands of magistrates sent out from Sparta. The *Perioeci* served as hoplites and also as light-armed troops in the Spartan army; they farmed the royal domains, and they formed the commercial class, as Spartans were forbidden to engage in trade. The *Perioeci* were distinguished as handicraftsmen, many of the Laconian manufactures being highly prized in other parts of Greece and in Asia.

§ 12. The original inhabitants of Laconia, mainly *Leleges*, who had participated in the earlier stage of the *Ægean* civilisation, were reduced to the position of serfs or bondsmen by the Achæans; and this position they

retained under the Dorian rule.* They were bound to the lots of ground (*κλήροι*) occupied by the Spartans, and were called Helots. As rent they paid one half of the produce (barley, wine, oil,) to the owners of the land to which they were attached, retaining the other half for their own subsistence. From a material point of view they were well-off, in some cases they were even rich. They could not be sold, put to death, or emancipated by their lords, but only by the state. In the army they served as light troops. Though their material condition was prosperous, the Helots hated the Spartans with a deep and bitter hatred; and constant supervision was required to prevent their rising in rebellion.

In rare instances a Helot won his freedom and was known as a Neodamode (*Νεοδαμώδης*). This was commonly the reward for special services in the field. Occasionally, too, the children of Helot parents were adopted by Spartans, and were styled Mothāces, or Mothōnes (*Μόθᾱκες*, or *Μόθωνες*).

The Spartans were an armed garrison occupying their city—it was never walled—as a camp, and on their guard against domestic and foreign enemies alike. The largest recorded number of pure Spartans or, in the Greek form of the word, Spartiatae, was 8000, and this rapidly declined; while the Helots are variously estimated at from one-third to nearly one-half of the entire population.

* Another theory is that the Lelegcs were personally free under Achæan rule, and were conquered and reduced to the position of serfs by the Dorian settlers

† From *νέος*, and *δᾱμος* (= *δῆμος*), and so meaning “newly-enfranchised.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENTS

§ 1 Forms of government—§ 2 Their course of development in Greece—§ 3 Kingship—§ 4 Oligarchy—§ 5 Tyranny—§ 6 Age of Tyrants—§ 7 Different development of Ionians and Dorians

§ 1 ACCORDING as the chief power is in the hands of one man, of a few, or of the many, governments are of three kinds. Each of these three kinds may be good, aiming at the well-being of all alike, or bad, seeking the advantage of the governing section of the community, and thus we have good and bad Absolutism, good and bad Oligarchy, good and bad Democracy.

Absolutism, when good, we may call Kingship; when bad, Tyranny or Despotism

Oligarchy, whether good or bad, is the government by a small privileged class of a larger non-privileged population. Such a class may be founded upon merit (Aristocracy), wealth (Timocracy, Plutocracy), or birth

Democracy is defined by Pericles as that form of government in which every citizen has a voice, though not necessarily an equal voice. When all have an equal voice, the rabble of the uneducated and poor will always tend to oppress the better educated and richer citizens: this is Ochlocracy* or mob-rule. Where all classes work harmoniously together, all sharing in the government yet none seeking to molest another, we have true Democracy or Isonomy†

* Ὀχλοκρατία (ὄχλος, κρατέω).

† Ἴσωνομία (ἴσος, νόμος), or, Ἰσηγορία (ἴσος, ἀγορεύω), freedom of speech being regarded as the first essential in a true Democracy. The term πολιτεία (*i.e.*, government, *par excellence*) is applied by the philosophers only to this, the good form of Democracy. With them, δημοκρατία is another name for ὀχλοκρατία

§ 2. The forms of government have in Greece a regular course of development—Kingship, Oligarchy, Tyranny, Democracy. The first and second stages are found, or presumed, in every Grecian state; the third, Tyranny, is known not to have occurred during the period of Grecian independence in Sparta alone,* the fourth and last stage, Democracy, was attained by a large number of states. Instances occur in which the course of development goes no farther than the second † or third ‡ stage, and others in which there is a relapse from Tyranny to Oligarchy, or even from Democracy to Tyranny, but such cases are the exception, and only become frequent at the close of the history of free Greece. In the majority of cases the dissolution of a Tyrannical government was the forerunner of a government alternately Democratic and Oligarchic, and far the greater number of political *émeutes* in Greece are due to the struggles of these two factions §. Speaking broadly, Dorian states favour Oligarchy, Ionians prefer Democracy.

§ 3. The first form of government is that of one man chosen by his fellows as their representative. This is the form most natural to men in an early, half-savage, condition, when war is incessant and one competent leader an essential. Such a leader was the Monarch, originally: he won his position by strength of mind and body alike, and he kept it by virtue of the same merits. If the chief left sons like himself, there was a natural tendency to make them the successors to his position, hence the idea of inherited monarchy. This is the only form of government recognised in Homer: the King is an autocrat, holding his power by right of birth from ancestors who received it direct from Zeus—in other words, by the “Divine Right” of kingship.

* *Ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν* Thuc I 18.

† Sparta, *e.g.* (which was, however, in many ways an abnormal state). To the close of the fifth century B.C. this was also the case with Thessaly. Another instance is that of Elis.

‡ Especially in the colonies, *e.g.* Syracuse.

§ The Greek word is *στάσις* (verb, *στασιάζειν*), meaning the “spirit of faction,” which is usually applied only to the struggles of the Oligarchic party (*οἱ ὀλίγοι, οἱ καλοί, οἱ ἀγαθοί, οἱ ἄριστοι*), with the popular or Democratic party (*ὁ δῆμος, οἱ πολλοί, οἱ κακοί*).

He is supposed to possess alone the gift of administering justice and has as it were a kind of infallibility.

Such are the great Achæan chiefs in Homer, and traditionally Monarchy is the government of the Achæans, that is, of pre-Dorian Peloponnesus. It was the government also of the peoples of Troy and their Asiatic allies, and we find it in Elis and Pisa, at Cauconian Pylus, in Ionian Athens, in Aeolian Boeotia, in Phthia of Thessaly where Achilles was king of the Myrmidons. We may conclude, apart from the legend of the Return, that the early Dorians also followed kings because they required such leaders in their migrations, because they introduced no new form of government, and because they accepted the monarchic form which they found in the Peloponnesians—the rule of the old royal houses of the land.

Albert absolute in the fullest sense of the term, the king gathers about him the wisest and bravest of his people to serve him as a council (*βουλή*). These form a senate to whose voice he must listen, and whom he must consult before carrying out any important measure. The mass of the people are voiceless: they assemble on momentous occasions to hear the king and his elders debate, but rarely does one of them venture to speak, and if he does, he expects no audience. This form of government is “perhaps the common possession of the Aryan family of mankind.”*

§ 4. Imperceptibly as society progresses war becomes less frequent, and there is less need of one undivided command, the elders of the council learn to hold themselves the peers of their monarch, as the ideas of reverence and the birth-title decline, while that of equality grows in extent, they force him to consider their wishes, lastly they set him aside. In states so small as were those of Greece, it was impossible to maintain that sense of majesty which is the great safeguard of a monarchy, nor had Greek kings command of any force sufficient to compel it, particularly in face of the military strength of the nobles.† In his place is instituted the govern-

* Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, p. 14

† The nobles constituted the cavalry, they alone being rich enough to breed and keep horses, and there being no infantry as yet capable of withstanding the cavalry. Hence cavalry is the recognised strength

ment of the Council. Such a council is based upon birth and merit, representing the noblest and oldest families of the tribe. It is an Aristocracy. The name of king survives occasionally as at Athens* as the title of a minor officer, generally of a priestly character. There is still nothing popular in the government, which remains jealously guarded as the prerogative of a few families, an Oligarchy.

This was the form of government which maintained itself at Sparta where only the sons of the *Spartiates* had power, at Athens amongst the *Eupatridæ*, which prevailed generally where Dorian influence reached; and which, in its struggles with Democracy, produced incessant revolutions even in Ionic states. Oligarchy is most permanent in agricultural countries, where the population has little time for the *agora*, but remains the impassive tenantry of its aristocratic landlords. The latter, as time goes on, may admit to their ranks rich men of no birth, making room for these by discarding such of their own highborn class as have lost their property. Such an Oligarchy, where wealth is the standard, is a Timocracy, and such is the usual form of oligarchy amongst commercial states, and therefore with the Ionians.

The possession of power without check leads in due course to its abuse. The Few monopolise all positions of influence and profit, they acquire the whole of the state land, rack-rents and evictions do the rest. They call themselves "the Good," "the Honest," "the Best", the population whom they oppress are "the Vile," "the Base," "the Mob."† The latter become discontented, and their discontent is usually fomented by those of the Few who have lost status by the loss of property‡. One of the latter, or a discontented and

of an Oligarchy, and oligarchy is usually found in conjunction with abundant pasture lands suited for breeding horses. Similarly, Democracy implies the growth of the infantry as a fighting arm.

* The *Ἀρχὸν Βασιλεὺς*, see Ch. XV, § 7. Compare the *Rex Sacrificulus*, the representative of the earlier kings of Rome; and the gradual alteration of the kingly prerogatives at Sparta. The king is, of course, originally general, judge, and priest in one. The latter function alone survives commonly.

† See the note, p. 73, and compare the Roman terms *Optimates* and *Boni*, as used in Cicero's day.

‡ This was the case *eg.* with the *ὑπομειλόμενοι*—degraded Spartiates—at Sparta, whose intrigues kept the helots in continual unrest.

ambitious member of the ruling class, or even one of the populace, leads the revolt which overthrows the oligarchy.* The immediate causes are as a rule connected with land—mortgages, bad harvests, high rentals, and an uncoded law working solely in the interest of the Few

§ 5 For a moment the people gain their objects—revenge, the cancelling of debts, a voice in the administering of justice, and in the government. But they are unused to power and politics, while their leader is shrewd and vigorous. He wins the gratitude of the people by chastising the Few: he declares his life imperilled by the plots of the survivors and so gains a bodyguard: he uses this against both Many and Few alike, and makes himself absolute. His position, however, has no such sanctions as attached to that of the earlier monarchs: it is extorted by force and is above the law; and no law could hurt them who slew a usurper. He might be benevolent and wise in his rule, as were Peisistratus and Cypselus, but he remained only a Tyrant† still, with every man's hand against him, his government a Tyranny—a government in which all power lay with one man alone, and that power is one of might, not of right. The impulse which had been given to the growth of the Democratic idea by the fall of the Oligarchy soon reasserted itself by the overthrow of the tyrants, and the introduction of the final stage of political development—the era of Democracy, of the government of all for all, of laws which bore alike upon all‡

* Grote distinguishes three typical ways in which a tyrant arose (a) The executive magistrate to whom the oligarchy had entrusted the administration makes himself supreme (*e.g.* Phalaris at Agrigentum) (b) The demagogue constitutes himself despot (*e.g.* Cypselus at Corinth, Peisistratus at Athens) (c) A man without even the pretence of popularity hires a band of retainers, and seizes the town (*e.g.* Cylon at Athens).

† The Greek words are *τύραννος* and *τυραννίς*. The word is said to be a dialectic variety of *κόλρανος*, and to be of Lydian origin.

‡ From the tyrant we must distinguish the Aesymnetes, an umpire chosen to adjudicate between contending classes and to arrange the state upon a basis satisfactory to all. Pittacus ruled Mitylene with plenary powers for ten years, and when tranquillity was restored retired into private life. With this office, we may compare the Dictatorship at Rome.

§ 6. So definite was the course of these successive changes in the majority of cases that it is customary to speak of the Age of Kings and the Age of Despots. In the following chapter we shall speak of the Age of Despots at greater length, and subsequently of the political history of Athens, which affords a typical picture of the entire course of Political Evolution.

§ 7. According as they are sea-faring or not, the Greek peoples are receptive, liberal, and progressive, or the reverse. The sea fosters the love of change, the land induces the love of home. Hence the advance of the Ionians to Democracy, and hence the Oligarchic conservatism of the Dorians. The influence of commercial life shows itself, however, in the difference of Doric Sparta as compared with Doric Corinth. Thucydides makes his politicians speak of the "radical tendencies" of the ναυτικός ὄχλος, and in a famous passage (1 70), which should be read, he puts in the mouth of a Corinthian speaker, a powerful comparison of the two great races of the Greece of the fifth century B C, the Dorians and Ionians as represented by Sparta and Athens respectively.

Again, "the agricultural, military, and political elements exist side by side in the plains, the mountains, and the cities," says Strabo. Mountainous regions, where strong natural positions are frequent, favour the rise of military governments, whether Monarchic or Oligarchic: they represent the warlike side of Greek life. The plains represent the sedentary, unprogressive, and peaceful side; while in the maritime towns and trade-marts appears the side of intellect and speculation, change, and progress.*

* See Tozer, *Lectures on Greek Geography*, Lect V Pt I., and Abbott, *Hist of Greece*, p 19. Those who care to follow the subject of this chapter may read Raleigh's *Elementary Politics*. It must be added that most of the terms used in this chapter are capable of very various meanings, thus *Timocracy* is sometimes used to express a government based on rank (τιμή).

CHAPTER X.

THE AGE OF TYRANTS

§ 1. Date of the Tyrants — § 2 Phedon of Argos — § 3. His Coinage. — § 4 History of Argos down to 500 B.C. — § 5 Theagenes of Megara — § 6 Corinth — § 7. The Bacchiadae — § 8 Cypselus — § 9 Periander — § 10 Psammetichus — § 11 Sicyon. — § 12 The Orthagoridae — § 13. Cleisthenes — § 14 The Marriage of Agariste. — § 15 Polycrates of Samos. — § 16. Features of Tyranny.

§ 1 THE two centuries between 700-500 B.C. are generally known as the Age of Despots. Between those dates Despotism appeared in the great majority of Greek states, whether of Island, Asiatic, or Continental Greece, and after 500 B.C. it gave way, almost in every case, to Democracy, or an amended and less intolerable Oligarchy. In the majority of cases history preserves no record of the event, and we know it only from tradition, allusion, or inference: in five instances, exclusive of Athens, we have at least some details of the period, viz. in the cases of Sicyon, Megara, Argos, Corinth in Continental Greece, and of the island of Samos.

§ 2. Argos, as we have seen, was already beginning to supersede Mycenae and Tiryns as the chief state in Argolis at the time of the Dorian conquest; after this conquest it rose to be the most powerful city, not only in Argolis, but

in all Peloponnesus. This dominance was due mainly to the position of Argolis, which made it naturally a mercantile state, for it lay close to Aegina and Delos, leading marts of the Aegean, and it was the most eastern portion of Peloponnesus. As we have seen,* the Dorian conquest of Argos left few traces; the Dorian conquerors amalgamated with the Achaeans and the earlier peoples, and probably the Achaean kingship went on without a break. About the middle of the seventh century, one of the Argive kings, named Pheidon, extended his authority beyond constitutional limits, and is therefore to be included among the "tyrants"† Under Pheidon Argos reached the zenith of her power. Very ambitious and far-reaching aims are ascribed to Pheidon; but only a few of his actual exploits stand out with any clearness. As an Argive ruler, he was naturally the champion of the commercial league which had Eretria and Aegina as its chief members, and the enemy of the Chalcidian-Corinthian league. Thus we find that he connected Argolis to Aegina by ties of friendship and alliance, and made Corinth and Sicyon submit for a time to Argive rule. His policy, as the king of a commercial maritime state, was necessarily anti-Spartan. It was Pheidon who conquered the whole eastern seaboard of Peloponnesus, including the narrow strip of coast between Painon and the sea, known as Cynuria; it was probably Pheidon who made the island of Cythera an Argive possession. In 669 B.C. the Spartans suffered a severe defeat from the Argives at Hysiae, this defeat was probably inflicted by Pheidon. Taking advantage of this great victory, he dealt Sparta a further blow by wresting the control of the Olympic festival from the Eleans (who were supported by Sparta) and celebrating the twenty-eighth Olympiad in the name of Pisa, which had originally conducted the games, but had been supplanted by Elis.

§ 3 But Pheidon's really valuable and lasting contribution to civilisation was his introduction of coinage into Greece. The Lydians were the inventors of a metal

* Ch. V., § 5.

† See Ch. IX., § 5.

coinage; and the first Greek states to adopt the invention were Miletus and Samos. Miletus, as a member of the Eretrian commercial league, was in close touch with Aegina and Argos; and it was from Miletus that Pheidon borrowed the invention. Aegina, as we have seen, was closely connected with Argos; and it was at Aegina that Pheidon established the first mint known west of the Aegean. The coinage was a silver one, gold being rare in Greece. The drachm of Aegina weighed 95 grains, and the didrachm or stater, 190 grains. The obol was one-sixth of the drachm. Closely connected with the new coinage was the Aeginetan standard of weights, which Pheidon introduced into Argos. These weights were of Babylonian origin, and consisted of talents, minae, drachmae, and obols. Drachmae and obols were also names of coins weighing a drachma and an obol respectively, there were no *single* coins corresponding to the talent or the mina, these represented either *sums* of money or weights. Another scale of weights (with corresponding coins and sums) was adopted first by Samos and then by the ally of Samos, Eretria. This standard was established in Euboea, Corinth, and other places, and was known as the Euboic standard. The Euboic weights bore the same proportions to one another as the Aeginetan,* but the Euboic drachm weighed only $67\frac{1}{2}$ grains; thus the Euboic standard was about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.

§ 4 After Pheidon's death the power of Sparta began steadily to supplant that of Argos. Corinth and Sicyon, under their tyrants, threw off the Argive suzerainty; and Sparta, as the result of long and hard fighting, had by 550 B.C. conquered Cynuria and Cythera. At length about the year 500 B.C. Cleomenes, the famous Spartan king, inflicted so crushing a blow upon Argos that she was effectually crippled for over thirty years. The battle was fought at Sepeia near Thyrs. Perceiving that the enemy was "using his herald," i.e. executing the manoeuvres which the Spartan herald commanded his own side, he ordered the

* That is to say, in both systems 1 talent was equivalent to 60 minae, 1 mina to 100 drachmae, and 1 drachma to 6 obols.

herald to give the signal for breakfast, and then charged the Argives. The Argives were taken quite unawares, and many of them took refuge in the sacred grove of Argus, an old national hero. Cleomenes succeeded in inducing a good many to leave their retreat by telling them that their ransom had arrived. After the death of some who were incautious enough to leave the grove, the remainder discovered the treachery and refused to come out. Cleomenes then surrounded the grove with faggots and set it on fire. Altogether the Argives lost six thousand citizens in this campaign, a reverse from which they were long in recovering. So scanty did the male population become, that the slaves, it is said, seized their master's possessions until a new generation grew up and expelled them.

§ 5. Towards the close of the seventh century Theagenes made himself despot of Megara. That state, one of the smallest in Greece, was nevertheless one of the most prosperous. Its position at the Isthmus enabled it to command, though to a far less degree than Corinth, the traffic by sea between east and west, as well as what small intercourse may have obtained by land between the Peloponnesus and Northern Greece. It lay immediately contiguous to Aegina, and within easy reach of Euboea and the great marts of Chalcis and Eietria, from the former of which it drew abundant supplies of copper and other ores. On the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus, Megara became subject to Corinth, but it regained its liberty, and as early as the eighth century began to be of importance in Greece. It sent out colonies in all directions: one of the earliest and most ill-fated foundations in Sicily, that of Megara Hyblaea, (728 B.C.) belongs to Megara; and another of many colonies planted in the extreme opposite quarter was the famous Byzantium (657 B.C.). Colonies were also sent to Chalcedon (675 B.C.) and Selymbria (660 B.C.). There is not known to have been any powerful Dorian influence in Megara, but the near neighbourhood of Corinth and Sicyon must have made itself felt indirectly. There were however a number of old noble houses of Achæan and Ionic extraction; and these, long the dominant oligarchy, fell beneath a popular rising. The immediate cause was debt arising from land-tenure;

the leader of it, Theāgenes (c 620 B C). He failed to keep his position, and was perhaps slain in another revolution. Years of unrest followed,* in which the state lost for ever its early vigour and prosperity, and was never able to figure with weight in later history. These dissensions, which were at their worst about 550 B.C., afforded material to the elegiac poet Theognis †

§ 6. Far more important in Grecian history was Corinth. Intended by nature to be the mart of the Ionian and Aegean seas, its inhabitants early acquired a reputation for wealth and luxury which they never lost. Its early commercial development was, as we noticed above, ‡ due to Phoenician influence, and when the Phoenician traders had betaken themselves further to the west the Corinthian merchants followed in their wake. From Corinth sprang the colonies of Corcyra, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactonium, as well as the famous Syracuse (founded 734 B C), the first city of Sicily and indeed of Greece at a date 250 years after its first settlement by Archias. Corinthian vases and Corinthian bronzes were known as art treasures throughout Magna Graecia, and as far as Etruria, where they furnished models to the less inventive but not less skilful workmen of that country. The Corinthian schools of architecture and sculpture were at one time the first in Greece. To Corinth was due the construction of the first triremes. The earliest sea-fight of which Thucydides knew was that between the fleets of Corinth and Corcyra (664 B C). And that they might reap every advantage from their position, the Corinthians built a ship-tram over the Isthmus connecting their ports {of Lechaëum on the Corinthian Gulf and Cenchreae on the Saronic Gulf, thereby saving the necessity of the voyage round Peloponnese and the terrors of stormy Cape Malea, and reaping solid benefits from the tolls thus accruing.

* On one occasion when the democracy got the upper hand, such of the aristocracy as remained at home were compelled to feast the poor in their houses under pain of pillage and violence. A law was publicly passed that all sums which had been paid as interest on borrowed money, should be repaid to the borrower.

† See Ch. XVIII, § 12

‡ Ch. V., § 6.

§ 7. As might be supposed, the population of a city so entirely mercantile was of very various origin. There were Achaeans of the noble house of the legendary Sisyphus, Lapithae from Thessaly, and Ionians,—numbering in all as many as five tribes, as against the three Dorian. On the fall of the monarchy, two hundred of the leading families, who all derived their descent from Bacchis (whence they were known as Bacchiadae) and recognised each other's equality, established an Oligarchy, of which one of their number was annually elected as Prytānis. The expedition which Archias led to Sicily, and which had such splendid results, was due to a gross abuse of this position which rendered his life no longer safe at home. Amongst others who felt themselves humiliated by the Oligarchy were the Thessalian Lapithae, one of whom, by name Aetion, took to wife Labda, the deformed daughter of a Bacchiad noble, when none of her own class would condone her disfigurement. From this marriage sprung Cypselus, the first Despot of Corinth (655-625 B.C.).

§ 8 Little is known of the despot save that he owed his elevation to demagogism, *i.e.*, to his assertion of the rights of the masses against the Oligarchy, and also probably to the general dissatisfaction evoked by the loss of the important colony of Corcyra, that he reigned wisely and long, that he restricted the trade of Corcyra by the foundation of Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, and that he enriched the temples of Delphi and Olympia with costly offerings. Chief of these was the famous "chest of Cypselus," of wood, adorned with reliefs in bronze representing a number of mythological scenes and figures*. It was seen by Pausanias 750 years later still preserved at Olympia. Legend said that Cypselus, when an infant, owed his life to the fact that his mother concealed him in a chest (κρυψέλη), but manifestly the legend was invented to account for the despot's name. He died 625 B.C., and left his power to his son Periander.

§ 9 Periander was a warlike despot and withal crafty.

* The scenes are valuable as assisting to a Homeric theory—they show that Homeric and Cyclic poems were in existence considerably before the time of Peisistratus.

Like his father he cultivated the favour of the gods, and—what was of no less importance—of their priests by his munificent gifts to their shrines, and he contrived to work this to his own advantage by throwing the cost upon the shoulders of such of the citizens as were rich and therefore dangerous. He systematically kept all poor by the burden of erecting great public works, of building temples, or by levying contributions for his offerings at Olympia and elsewhere. He was intimately connected with the chief examples of despotism of his day, with the Lydian monarch Alyattes, with the Egyptian king Psammetichus,* with Procles of Epidaurus whose daughter he married, and Thrasybulus of Miletus; and he established other members of his family as tyrants of the great cities of the north-west, Ambracia and Anactorium. He reduced Corcyra to submission, and set over it his son Nicolaus. This conquest soon led to the acquisition of Epidamnus, and this was followed by the foundation of Apollonia. Conscious that his chief enemy externally was Sparta, whose policy it was to discountenance *tyrannies*, he did all he could to degrade and abolish any traces of Dorism in Corinth; and he extended his power by conquest over Aegina and Epidaurus on the east, and various Acarnanian towns on the west. He was a patron of art in so far as he encouraged the erection of public buildings, and a patron of literature as well, at his court Arion cultivated the Dithyramb which was to develop into tragedy.

With all his glory, Periander was in after days a type of the most infamous tyranny. There is no reason to doubt that he was guilty of the usual deeds of violence, but we need not accept too literally the story of his crimes here narrated;† his wife was Melissa, daughter of Procles of Epidaurus, who bore him two sons, Cypselus and Lycophron. For some reason Periander caused her to be executed, and in later years her father revealed the fact

* After whom was named his nephew and successor Psammetichus.

† Abbott observes that the people, at any rate in early times, had not the power of expressing their thoughts in literature. That was the exclusive privilege of the oligarchs.

to his two grandsons, as yet ignorant of it. The elder paid no heed to the confession; Lycophron renounced his father and refused reconciliation, nor could the extremest penalties alter his mood. At length, to rid himself of the sight of so unloving a son, Periander sent him to govern Corcyra. There he remained several years, until the father, now growing old and still unable to win back his son's affection, offered to set the latter upon the throne of Corinth, and himself to retire to Corcyra. The idea so alarmed the Cereyraeans, that to obviate the possibility of its fulfilment, they murdered Lycophron. Periander avenged him cruelly, sending as many as three hundred of their noblest youths to serve as eunuchs to Alyattes at Sardis—a fate from which they were rescued by the Samians who allowed them to take sanctuary as they were being conveyed eastward. Periander's speedy death prevented his avenging this second insult. He had reigned forty years (625-585 B.C.)

§ 10 He was succeeded by Psammetichus his nephew, the son of Gordius, and three years later Sparta, consistently with her policy and her power, put down the Cypselid dynasty and re-established an oligarchy with a council of eighty. The change of government was followed by the loss of Corcyra and Epidamnus. Still Corinth continued to prosper. In subsequent years, it became the steadfast ally of Sparta, and the leading member of the Dorico-Peloponnesian Confederacy.

§ 11 Yet another great mercantile town was Sicyon. It fell almost entirely under Dorian influences, and had to admit Dorian families who formed three of the four tribes. Like Corinth it developed a wide connection for trade purposes with western Hellas and Italy, and was especially allied to the flourishing colonies of Siris and Sybaris, both Achæan, in Magna Graecia. Its commerce made it a leading centre of art-industries, and the range of its merchants may be inferred from the fact that the treasury erected by its despot Myron at Olympia as a storehouse for his offerings, the first building of its kind at that spot, was lined with plates of bronze from Tartessus in Spain.

§ 12. The rise of commerce was the ultimate cause of the

overthrow of the Dorian Oligarchy. A Despotism was then established by Andreas, an Ionian by race, who assumed the name of Orthagoras and founded the dynasty of the Orthagoridae (c 670 B C), a dynasty whose duration reached a century, and outlasted that of any other despot. The name Orthagoras has been supposed to imply that Andreas was a demagogue who professed to "right" the masses.

Orthagoras was succeeded by Myron, whose munificence towards Olympia has been already mentioned, and was possibly due to the same policy of impoverishing the citizens as actuated Periander.

§ 13 The interest of this Dynasty centres however in a later member, Cleisthenes (600-560 B C), who put into execution a consistent anti-Dorian policy. Before taking measures against the Dorians, he first of all threw off the suzerainty which Argos claimed to exercise over Sicyon. The old connection between Sicyon and Argos was testified by the fact that the national hero or tutelary demi-god of both cities was Adrastus, the leader of the great mythical expeditions of the "Seven against Thebes" and of the "Epigoni," whose defeat and death were, according to one version of the legend, due to the Theban hero Melanippus. According to Greek ideas, the enmity which had made the two heroes adversaries in life continued also after death, so that neither would tolerate the presence of the other's cult in the same locality. Cleisthenes availed himself of this feeling to secure the withdrawal of Adrastus by formally inducting Melanippus into Sicyon. Such ceremonies as had been observed in Adrastus' honour were transferred either to Melanippus or to Dionysus, and thus the Argive hero was officially banished, and all connection with Doric Argos on the score of religion was formally renounced. He also abolished the public recital of the Homeric poems, because they glorified Argos, the kingdom of Agamemnon.

Cleisthenes next turned his attention to the Dorians actually resident in Sicyon, who formed three of the four tribes. He marked these as the objects of ridicule and oppression by naming them respectively, Hyatae, Oneatae,

and Choereatae,* names taken from dēspicable animals. On the other hand he changed the name of the native population, hitherto known as Aegialeis, or "Men of the Shore," to that of Archelāi, or "Nobles."

He continued his anti-Dorian policy by usurping the position of champion of the national Dorian deity, Apollo, a function which of course pertained in the first instance to Sparta. The many pilgrims who visited Delphi from the west of Greece, usually travelled by sea to Cirrha, the port of the Phocian town of Crissa, lying upon a small creek at the head of the gulf afterwards known as that of Cœneth. The Cirrhaeans availed themselves of this to lay troublesome tolls and imposts upon the pilgrims, who made public declaration of the grievance. Sicyon, as a rival port, was naturally glad of the opportunity to crush Cirrha, and Cleisthenes found mercantile interests exactly in accord with his wider political schemes. On plea of avenging the insult done to Apollo in the person of his votaries, he united his forces with those of Athens under the lead of Alcmaeon, and after a tedious war razed Crissa from the map of Greece; while the harbour of Cirrha was blocked up, its walls dismantled, and its people sold into slavery.

§ 14 He had benefited the trade of Sicyon, he had shown his superior sense of religious duty as compared with Sparta, he had also brought himself into friendly relations with ultra-Ionic and miso-Dorian Athens. He now tried to put into execution his final scheme, the organisation of a general Ionic confederacy which should countervail the influence of Sparta.† To do this he advertised the marriage of his only child, his daughter Agariste, and collected at Sicyon thirteen suitors for her hand from the chief non-Dorian states of Greece and Italy.‡ For a whole year they resided at his court, ostensibly that he might observe their merits, but really in a sort of congress which was intended

* 'Târai from *ῥῆς*, a sow, 'Oveârai from *ὄνος*, an ass, Χοιρεârai from *χοῖρος*, a pig.

† This at least is Curtius' view.

‡ There were twelve states represented—Sybaris and Siris (Italy); Epidamnus, Aetolia, Argos, the Arcadian Trapezus, and Paeum, Elis, Athens (which sent two of its citizens), Eretria, Crannon in Thessaly, and the Molossæ.

to result in the desired Federation. In the end Agariste became the bride of Megacles the Athenian, and her son, called by his grandfather's name, was the famous Cleisthenes of Athens, the great reformer of the Athenian constitution. The Sicyonian despot did not live to see his hopes realised, nor do we know when or how he died. He was, it seems, the last of his dynasty, and it is supposed that Sparta avenged herself for his behaviour by preventing the accession of another despot, and by restoring the customary philo-Dorian Oligarchy. At all events we know nothing more of the history of Sicyon, until it appears as a member of the Lacedaemonian confederacy (c 500 B C).

§ 15 The Despotism of Polycrātes of Samos, is inserted here for the sake of parallelism, although chronologically belonging to a later period—an observation which applies generally to the despotisms of the Ionian Coast, where the vicinity of the Persian empire favoured the longer continuance of *Tyranny*. Between 700 B C and 550 B C, Samos saw the usual succession of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. About the latter date an oligarchy was again in power. Polycrates made himself master of Samos about the year 535 B C, at a time when many of the Greek towns of the neighbouring mainland were subject to Persia, and the remainder ruled by their several despots. The good fortune of Polycrates was proverbial. Allied with Amasis king of Egypt, he became the greatest power in the Aegean, and extended his power by conquest over many of the adjacent islands and even to Ionia itself, so that under him Samos became the first state of Greece. His magnificence was equal to his success: the temple of Here at Samos was one of the wonders of the world, and scarcely less notable were the aqueduct-tunnel and harbour-mole which he caused to be constructed. When, in 525 B.C, Cambyses the Persian invaded Egypt, Polycrates sent a voluntary contingent, to the number of forty vessels, manned by those Samians of whom he wished to be rid, thus doing himself a benefit at the same time as he conferred one upon his new ally. The intended victims however contrived to escape, and threw themselves upon the mercy of Sparta. That state saw fit to entertain their prayer, and sent, in conjunction

with the Corinthians, a formidable fleet to restore the exiles and depose Polycrates. The expedition failed egregiously, Polycrates became more powerful than ever, while Sparta received an unwelcome rebuff, and the exiles, after various discreditable and piratical achievements, were captured and sold into slavery by the Cietans of Cydonia. Polycrates came to a ghastly end. He had incurred the enmity of Oroetes, Satrap of Lydia, and the latter, taking the advantage of his known lust for gold, induced him to land upon the mainland, seized him, and put him to a barbarous death (c. 522 B.C.). His power passed to one Maeandrius, his secretary, who was soon stripped of his power by Darius in favour of Syloson, a brother of Polycrates. Thus Syloson was succeeded by a son Aeaces, who was reigning at the time of the Ionic Revolt.

§ 16. The foregoing accounts of five various despotic centres afford certain general data in regard to that form of government which may be stated here, and will receive corroboration from the subsequent history of the despotism of the Peisistratidae at Athens. We may notice that:—

(a) *Tyranny* was on the whole, at this period, a beneficent form of government, especially when contrasted with the selfish clique-government which it replaced. It generally marks a period of very decided advance in material prosperity, which was impossible under the Oligarchies.

(b) The despot obtains power either as champion of the oppressed masses, or by a coup of revenge for personal insult, or occasionally by the voluntary nomination of the state, and when most violent, his violence falls upon the oligarchic families, not upon the masses.

(c) It was thus a direct agent in encouraging the idea of democratic equality, by breaking down the excessive power and wealth of a few families and putting all on one level of subjection to himself. After experiencing despotism no state reverted to an Oligarchy of the old invidious type. The new Oligarchies were usual Oligarchies of wealth, not blood, and were far more liberal in their government.

(d) The despots usually conceived and carried out a definite policy under the three forms of (1) extension of commerce, and (2) removal of social differences at home, and

(3) abroad, hostility to Sparta, the natural enemy of all tyrants.

(e) Their intimate relations with one another, usually by marriage, served to encourage intercourse between the various states of Greece, while their alliances with Lydia or Egypt, or the semi-barbarous Thracian despots, still further aided the extension of commerce and the enlargement of ideas.

(f) The Age of Tyrants marks an era when art, science, and literature, flourish under unusually advantageous circumstances, the despot being ready and able to pay for the best productions of each kind out of the purses of the rich, and thus training up a large number of technical employés

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF SPARTA.

§ 1 Sparta and Messenia — § 2 First Messenian War — § 3 Foundation of Tarentum by Spartan Partheniae — § 4. Second Messenian War — § 5. Attack on Tegea — § 6 Foreign Relations.— § 7 Reign of Cleomenes

§ 1 THE common land of Sparta was divided into lots, of which every citizen had one. By the beginning of the eighth century, owing to the increase of population, there were not lots enough to go round, and the Spartans were obliged to seek fresh territory for distribution.

The strip of land called Cynuria on the east of Mount Parnon was rugged and riverless, so that the Spartans were not tempted to advance in that direction. But to the west lay the more fertile and extensive land of Messenia, watered by the river Pamisus. It was to this district, therefore, that the Spartans turned with the view of relieving the pressure of the population on their land. Aryan-speaking tribes, probably Achaeans, had already settled in Messenia, mainly in the central plain of Stenyclarus, but the Spartans were the first people of Dorian race to conquer the country.

Our authorities for the Messenian Wars are meagre and contradictory. The chief authority, Pausanias, gained his information from writers who had only Messenian folk-tales to guide them. The poet Tyrtaeus lived at the time of the second war, but the only record he has left consists of a few fragments. In the following account an

attempt has been made to extract one or two facts from a mass of obvious legend

§ 2. About 743 B.C., the Spartans without a formal declaration of war surprised the border fortress of Amphea. Making this a *point d'appui*, they proceeded to occupy the country in detail, but their proverbial incapacity as besiegers prevented their reducing the towns, while the Messenians, by means of guerilla warfare, inflicted quite as much damage as they received. It was not until 735 B.C. that the Messenians were forced to concentrate their entire strength to the mountain fortress of Ithome, and they were still able to organise something like an anti-Spartan Confederacy of all Arcadia, Sicyon, and Argos. Unfortunately Pheidon had not yet arisen to act as leader, or they might have turned to better advantage the victories which they still from time to time won over the Spartans. It was not until 724 B.C., twenty years after the commencement of the war, that the Messenians were reduced, and their stronghold of Ithome captured and razed to the ground. Most of the noble houses emigrated to Arcadia, Sicyon, Argos, or to Athens and Attica, where Eleusis was peopled by refugees from Messenian Andania, the founders of the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter. The remainder of the population became Helots, tilling the new Spartan lots into which the lowland plains were divided, and paying to their Spartan lords one-half of the produce. The other half they were, like the Laconian Helots, allowed to retain.

A little later a number of Messenian refugees passed westward to Rhegium in Italy, where they maintained a leading position down to the time of Anaxilaus (c. 490 B.C.)

§ 3. In the year 708 B.C. was founded the sole colony of Sparta in Italy, Tarentum. Some leading families there went by the name of the Partheniae, and to account for the name the legend was invented that the settlers were bastard sons of unwedded Spartan girls (*παρθέναι*), born during the long absence of the older men at Messenia, and sufficiently numerous to endanger the safety of the constitution when excluded from the inheritance of

legitimate Spartiatae. The Partheniae were probably pre-Dorian founders of Tarentum. When the Spartans re-founded the city, the leading families of the old settlers were allowed to retain their position alongside of the Dorian colonists. In later times, when the name "Partheniae" was no longer understood, the legend connecting it with Sparta was manufactured.

§ 4. Some years after the settlement of Tarentum, the Spartans were once more involved in hostilities with the people of Argos. In 669 B.C., the great Argive king and tyrant, Pheidon, defeated them decisively at Hysiae, on the road from Tegea to Argos. He followed up this blow by supporting the Pisatans against the philo-Spartan Eleans in their celebration of the twenty-eighth Olympiad (668). In 659 B.C. the Arcadians wrested Phigaleia from Sparta. What was of still more serious import, the Messenians formed a coalition with the Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans, and made a desperate attempt to throw off the foreign yoke. This is known as the Second Messenian War (c. 645-630 B.C.).* The accounts which have been handed down are full of fables, and it is impossible to say where fact begins and fiction ends. The Messenians were led by Aristomenes, who in the first years of the struggle repeatedly defeated the Spartans. The Spartans, at the command of the oracle, had sent to Athens for a leader, and the Athenians, unwilling to see them in possession of Messenia, sent them a lame schoolmaster named Tyrtaeus. Tyrtaeus, however, was of the utmost service, for by his poems he encouraged the Spartans to continue the war until at last, aided by the treachery of the Arcadians, they won a great victory, known as the "Battle of the Trench." After this Aristomenes retired to Eira, in the extreme north of Messenia, whence he kept up the struggle for eleven years more. At last further resistance became impossible, and Aristomenes evacuated his stronghold. Some of the Messenians sailed to Sicily, where, in conjunction with the people of Rhegium, they attacked the Zancleaeans. Ultimately

*The date is quite uncertain. Pausanias places the outbreak of the war as early as 685 B.C.

they agreed to share the city with the old inhabitants, and changed its name from Zancle to Messene. Such as remained behind were reduced to the condition of Helots. Aristomenes ended his life at Rhodes.

§ 5 Encouraged by this success, the Spartans proceeded to attack the Arcadians. The border people of Tegea were the first to be assailed. The enterprise proved a woeful failure, and the fetters which the Spartans had taken with them to secure their captives were employed in securing themselves. About 550 B.C., however, they defeated the Tegeatae, and compelled them to enter into an alliance.

§ 6 From this time upwards Sparta becomes of increasing importance in Grecian History. She had already crushed Messenia, humiliated Argos, and secured to some extent the allegiance of Arcadia, she had annihilated the Pisatans and installed in their place the people of Elis. The fall of the tyrants in Corinth and Megara had been followed by the restoration of the oligarchies. Both these cities now fell entirely under Spartan influence, and shaped their politics by hers. Thus Sparta was all-powerful in the Peloponnesus, and she soon began to make herself felt beyond those limits.

One sign of this is shown in the action of Croesus, who concluded an alliance with Sparta when the power of Cyrus the Persian began to threaten his position. But although the Spartans were prepared to fulfil their share of the bargain, they were anticipated by the activity of Cyrus, and Sardis had fallen before any aid could be sent thither, 546 B.C.* Not long afterwards the Ionian cities sent to implore Spartan assistance against the Persians, but the Lacedaemonians contented themselves with bidding Cyrus do no injury to any Hellene. The prohibition was treated with scant respect. We have already seen how Samian exiles induced Sparta to send a force against Polycrates, and what success the expedition met with †.

§ 7. In 520 B.C. Cleomenes ascended the throne. He was a man of utterly ungovernable temper, and his caprices caused much disturbance in Greece until they brought him

* See p. 18

† See p. 88

to a miserable end. About 511 B.C. the constant injunctions of the Delphic oracle to expel the Peisistratidae led the Spartans to send an expedition to Attica for that purpose. As the narrative belongs rather to the history of Athens, it will here be sufficient to give an outline, referring to Ch. XIV. for details. The first expedition under Anchimolus was a complete failure, but in 510 B.C. Cleomenes undertook the campaign in person, and secured the withdrawal of the Peisistratidae. The Spartans soon repented of their action in expelling a faithful ally; and in 508 B.C. Cleomenes, at the summons of his guest-friend Isagoras, marched to Athens and expelled 700 of the partisans of Cleisthenes. He was besieged in the Acropolis by the people, and compelled to leave the city. Next year in conjunction with his fellow-king Demaratus he marched once more into Attica. The Corinthians, however, learned that the object of the expedition was to establish the power of Isagoras, and absolutely refused their co-operation. Demaratus showed no great enthusiasm in the matter, and no further action was taken. A subsequent attempt was made to restore the Peisistratidae—for by this time the corruption of the oracle had become known—but as before the Corinthians offered an uncompromising resistance, and so the matter fell through. This was the end of Spartan interference on behalf of the tyrant. About 500 B.C. Cleomenes crushed the power of Argos by killing two-thirds of her citizens. The story of the campaign has been given, p. 83. It remains to add that Cleomenes was called to account on his return for not capturing Argos. He, however, explained that the oracle had been fulfilled—he had taken the grove of Argos, and with it, therefore, Argos also—and the explanation was accepted. Sparta remained absolutely passive during the great Ionic revolt, and was content to look on while Hellenes were being reduced to slavery. It must, however, be admitted that this is only what Athens did too, at least after the ill-omened expedition which resulted in the burning of Sardis.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF ATHENS THE MONARCHY AND THE ARISTOCRACY

- § 1 Attica and Athens before the coming of the Greeks — § 2 The Cecropes — § 3 The Ionians — § 4 Synoecism of Attica — § 5 The Four Ionic Tribes The Clans and Brotherhoods — § 6 Eupatridae, Geomori, Demiurgi — § 7 Monarchy succeeded by Oligarchy. — § 8 The Board of Nine Archons — § 9 The Council of the Areopagus — § 10 Beginnings of Timocracy at Athens — § 11 Trittyes and Nauciaries The Ecclesia — § 12. Conquest of Eleusis. — § 13. Social Distress in Attica — § 14 Small Farmers and Hectemori — § 15. Cylon's Attempt at Tyranny

§ 1 MANY remains in different parts of Attica show that this country participated in the Aegean culture of 2000-1000 B.C. Bee-hive tombs have been found at Acharnae, Thoricus, and Eleusis, rock-tombs have been unearthed at Prasiae. The Acropolis of Athens was inhabited during the stone and copper civilisation of the third millenium, while during the period of the Mycenaean culture it was a mighty stronghold. Remains of the wall of the fortress may still be seen, and vestiges of the royal palace have also been found on the north side of the Acropolis. The Athenians called the old fortress wall the Pelasgic wall, and a space on the west slope of the hill was known as the Pelargicon (a corruption of Pelasgicon). These names point to the Pelasgi as the inhabitants of Attica during the first period of the Mycenaean civilisation.

At this period Athens was only one of several independent princedoms scattered throughout Attica. These consisted either of village communities or city-states formed by a

combination of villages. The chief of these city-states were Athens in the plain of the Cephissus and Eleusis in the plain west of Mount Aegaleos

§ 2 The migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples into Greece did not affect Attica so much as most places. Her soil was thin and poor, and not likely to tempt invaders of agricultural habits. This comparative immunity from invasion is reflected in the belief current among the Athenians of history that the people of Attica were sprung from the soil (*αὐτόχθονες*). The first of the Greek invaders of Attica were the Cecropes; Cecrops is represented in legend as the first king of Attica. The great deity of the Cecropes was Erectheus, who was identified with Poseidon, the earth-shaker.

§ 3. A later wave of emigration brought Ionian settlers to the shores of Attica. The Ionians introduced into Attica the worship of the goddess Athena (from whom the settlement on and around the old Pelasgic acropolis was henceforth known as Athens), the Aryan division into tribes, brotherhoods, and clans, and a dominant Aryan tongue. The Ionians did not reduce the earlier peoples to subjection or dispossess the Cecropian Erectheus, Athena shared with Erechtheus the oldest temple that was built for her on the Acropolis, and in historic times one of the names by which the Athenians were known was "Erechtheidæe."

§ 4. After the Ionian settlement the power of Athens increased, and she became the head of a loose confederacy which included all the hitherto independent communities of Attica, with the exception of Eleusis. In course of time this confederacy developed into the political union known as Synoecism (*συννοικισμός*). There were at that time twelve separate city-states (including Athens but excluding Eleusis) in Attica. Each of these states (*πόλεις*) was inhabited by a number of Clans (*γένη*) or families claiming descent from a common ancestor; and each state had its chief's house, council chamber, and place of assembly. The clans thus forming a city-state were bound to one another by religious ties; they united to form the society called a Brotherhood (*φρατρία*) for the purpose of common worship. By the synoecism of Attica

(attributed to the hero Theseus, who was really a god) these city-states ceased to have any separate political existence, the citizens of all became the citizens of Athens only; the local council chambers and places of assembly were merged in the council chamber and assembly of Athens, the local chiefs disappeared, and one chief (*βασιλεύς*) of Attica, with his seat of government at Athens, took their place. In the words of Thucydides, "Theseus dissolved the council chambers and governments of the other city-states, and by assigning them a single council chamber and a single chief's house, united them all in the city as it now is; and obliged them all, while enjoying each his own property as before, to use this as their one city"* It must be carefully noted that this union was of a purely political nature, the division, based upon birth or religion, into clans or brotherhoods, remained unaffected.

§ 5 Closely connected with the Synoecism was the division of the people of Attica into four tribes (*φυλαί*). The names of the tribes—Geleontes, Argadeis, Aegicoreis, Hopletes—occur in other Ionic states, *e g* Miletus, Cyzicus, Teos. They were an artificial division of the whole population for social and religious purposes, and were based upon the existing division into clans and brotherhoods. The twelve brotherhoods (*φρατρίαι*), which coincided with the twelve old city-states, were arranged under the tribes, three contiguous brotherhoods being grouped together to form a tribe. Many inhabitants of Attica (*e g*. craftsmen and others who had taken refuge in the land) could not claim to belong to any clan or brotherhood; so that from the beginning there were citizens who, though included in the *φυλαί*, were excluded from the *γένη* and *φρατρίαι*, and the number of these was always growing. In the seventh century all members of *φυλαί* were admitted as members of *φρατρίαι*, and the brotherhood was then used for the purposes of census. But after the synoecism and the division into tribes, outsiders were jealously excluded from the clans, and the clansmen formed a close aristocracy of birth.

It is important to remember that the clans were not

* *Thucydides* II, Ch 15.

subdivisions of the brotherhoods, or the brotherhoods subdivisions of the tribes. The unit of the whole organisation was the clan, though non-clansmen were admitted to the tribes from the first, and to the brotherhoods from the middle of the seventh century.

§ 6 Those of the tribesmen who belonged to clans began after the synoecism to form an hereditary nobility. They styled themselves *Eupatridæ* ("Well-born") as distinct from the *Geomoræ* or *Georgi* ("Peasants") and the *Demiurgi* ("Artisans"). To the Eupatridæ belonged the bulk of the land, and they lived in Athens on the proceeds of their estates, which were cultivated for them by labourers, who were personally free, but had no land of their own, and were not received into the citizen body. These labourers were called Hectemori ("Sixth-part men") because they received in payment for their labour one-sixth of the annual produce of their lord's estate. It will be seen that the lot of these hectemori was worse even than that of the Laconian and Messenian Helots, who were allowed to retain one-half of the produce.

§ 7. After the synoecism the power of the noble clans increased steadily at the expense of the monarchy. The king's authority became smaller and smaller, and gradually the Eupatridæ became established as a ruling aristocracy. The kingship was never abolished, there was a King (*βασιλεύς*) at Athens during the whole period of the democracy, but his functions became purely religious and formal. The Eupatridæ first robbed the king of his position as leader in war. The command of the army was transferred to an officer called a Polemarch, elected for a term of years from and by the Eupatridæ. Some years later (about the beginning of the eleventh century) an Archon or Regent was instituted, who usurped the greater part of the civil and political power of the king. Only members of the Medontid family were eligible to this office. Each regent was elected for life from this family by the citizens voting in their Assembly, though the election was doubtless controlled in some way by the Eupatridæ. But a regency held for life, with full political powers, was only a monarchy in a modified form. This

did not suit the Eupatridae, who wanted the Archon to rule for them, not to rule them. Accordingly about 750 B.C. the tenure of the office of Archon was limited to ten years. From about 710 B.C. the ten years' Archonship was no longer confined to the Medontidae, but was thrown open to all Eupatridae. The heads of the noble clans were now the real rulers of Athens. In 683 B.C. a great change took place, which meant the definite establishment of an oligarchy at Athens. In that year all three offices—that of Archon, of Polemarch, and of King—were made annual in tenure. The Kingship was now made elective instead of hereditary. The office of Polemarch had from its inception been elective.

§ 8. A few years later the Archonship was still further limited by the creation of six new officers, called Thesmothetae, whose duty it was to administer justice, deciding cases according to tradition and precedent, they also kept a record of their own decisions. Dates were now reckoned by the name of the Archon, who was hence called the Archon Eponymus ("Name-giving Archon"). The Archon, Polemarch, and King, together with the Thesmothetae, now constituted a board which was known as the Board of Nine Archons. The Archon Eponymus was the supreme civil magistrate;* the Polemarch down to 487 B.C. was the commander-in-chief of the army, and had jurisdiction in cases where resident aliens were involved. The King (or Archon Basileus, King-Archon, as he was called) became now a mere judge in matters connected with religion.

§ 9. The Boulé or Council of Elders, which, as we have seen, was a feature of the monarchical period in all Greek states after the coming of the Aryan invaders, was known in Athens by the name of the Council of the Areopagus. This name it derived from its judicial functions, for it met as a court judging cases of bloodshed on the Areopagus, or "Hill of the Avenging Goddesses." In Greece persons guilty of bloodshed were accounted impure, and this impurity was shared by the whole

* In later times his judicial powers were greatly circumscribed. See Ch. XV, § 10

community till it was removed, and the goddesses of the underworld, who called out for vengeance on the slayer, were satisfied. These goddesses were known variously as Erinyes (Furies), Semnai (August Ones), Eumenides (Kindly Ones), and Aiai (Curses), and the Areopagus, near which they had a temple, derived its name from them. The Council judged cases of bloodshed as representatives of these goddesses. Thus at Athens the King's boulé was primarily judicial rather than political.

This boulé became under the oligarchy the chief political force in Athens. It may even have been used by the Eupatridæ as a means of weakening and abolishing the monarchy. It is certain that the oligarchy when it had been established ruled by means of the Council of the Areopagus. All Archons, on resigning office, became members; this was a sufficient guarantee of the conservatism of the Council.

§ 10. But the Ionians were essentially a commercial people, and in face of the development of trade and commerce which took place during the seventh century, the oligarchy of birth could not maintain itself without modification. Thus about 650 B.C. we find that the foundations of the timocracy* which was to be established by Solon were already laid. It is to this period that we are probably to assign the division of the people into classes according to their wealth, which is generally ascribed either to Solon or to Dracon†. In any case there seems to be little doubt that after 650 B.C. every citizen whose annual income, whether derived from land or not, reached a certain fixed amount, was at least formally eligible for the archonship and other high magistracies.

§ 11. To this period of growing commercial activity belongs the introduction of the system by which the people of Attica were divided into *Naucræres* (*ναυκραρίαι*), for the purposes of administration and taxation. Each of the four tribes were divided into three *Trittyes*, and each trittys

* A timocracy is a constitution in which a man's civil rights, especially his eligibility to office, are determined according to the amount of property he possesses.

† For these classes see Ch. XIII, § 4.

numbered four naucraries,—a total of twelve trittyes and forty-eight naucraries. Each naucracy was bound to supply the cost of one ship and of two fully-equipped horsemen. The taxes on the naucraries were levied by Presidents (*πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων*) who were responsible to the government. Under the Prytaneis was a board or council of Naucrari (*ναύκραροι*) whose duty it was to collect the money, build the ships, and find and equip the horsemen. From the recognition of property as well as birth, as a qualification for political rights, dates the beginning of the power of the Assembly of citizens (*ἐκκλησία*). After the middle of the seventh century the assembly was probably composed of the first three property-classes (the Thetes being excluded till the time of Solon, 594 B.C.). It decided questions of war and peace, and had at least a voice in the election of magistrates.

§ 12. It is to this period (about 650 B.C.) that we should probably assign the conquest of Eleusis by Athens. When this conquest was effected, the whole of Attica formed one state, with Athens as the capital.

§ 13. In spite of the commercial progress and increase of wealth which marked the latter half of the seventh century B.C. there was great social distress during this period among the poor of Attica. One cause of this distress was over-population. The poor could not emigrate, for emigration implies means, nor could they turn to commerce for a livelihood, for commerce requires capital. Thus the majority of the poor had only the land to depend upon, and though the population increased (mainly by the constant influx of immigrants, for Athens never troubled herself about the "alien problem") the soil (the best of which in Attica was thin and poor) did not increase in fertility. A second cause of economic distress was the introduction of coined money. Everything had now to be paid for in coin instead of by exchange of goods, and coin was as yet very scarce.

§ 14. The greatest sufferers were the agricultural poor. These consisted of peasants who tilled their own land, (forming a portion of the class of *Geomori* or *Georgi*), and of free labourers (*Hæctemori*), who cultivated the estates

of the wealthy landowners. The peasants, owing to bad harvests, increase in the number of their families, or want of coined money, were forced to borrow from capitalists at high interest on the security of their farms. Of course they could not repay the money, and by the end of the seventh century nearly every small farm in Attica had been mortgaged to capitalists. The state of the Hectemori was still worse, though the scarcity of coined money did not affect them. They became unable, owing mainly to the increase of mouths to be fed, to subsist on the sixth part of the produce of the land they cultivated, and were compelled, like the peasant proprietors, to borrow. In this case the money was lent by the owners of the land, and the only security the debtors could offer was their own persons and those of their families. This pledge was however allowed by law; and the final result was that free labour disappeared from Attica and in place of it came the forced labour of the bondsman.

§ 15. Even if there had been a fixed law to regulate the relations of debtor and creditor, landowner and labourer, the case would have been hard enough. But there was no such law. The prerogative of doing justice had resided as heaven's gift in the persons of the Homeric king. When he passed away, his prerogatives fell upon his successors the nobles, and if men dared not ask a written law from the heaven-appointed king, they could not wing it from an oligarchy strong in their union, and strong also in the command of the sole force of the state then existing—the cavalry. Indeed, when the popular voice found utterance it demanded not a written code so much as a redistribution of land, it was the present trouble, not the deeper-lying cause of it, which they sought to remove. Thus far the common people *felt* only, they did not *think*.

In 632 B.C.* Cylon, with a small band of Megarian

* This seems the most probable date. We know that the attempt occurred in an Olympic year, that it was after 640 B.C., and before the legislation of Dracon. In any case it cannot be later than 628 B.C. Before the *Athenian Constitution* was discovered the occurrence was placed after Dracon at various dates, 620, 616, or 612 B.C.

troops, and a handful of his fellow Eupatridae, seized the Acropolis in the hope of making himself despot. He was a leading noble, famous for an Olympic victory (640 B.C.) and yet young, he had on all hands examples of successful despots—at Megara, Corinth, Sicyon, and elsewhere, and he was himself married to the daughter of Theagenes of Megara. His action shows that the decline of the oligarchy had begun—it was a “house divided against itself.” Presumably Cylon relied upon the oppressed people to support him. But the affair was sadly mismanaged. The government was strong enough to shut the conspirators up in the Acropolis, and there starve them into surrender, while the populace flocked to aid in the siege. The Archon Eponymus was Megacles, the head of the family of the Alcmaeonidae.† Under promise of safe conduct he induced the Cylonians to quit the temple wherein they had taken asylum, then fell upon them and cut them down. Some few were even butchered at the altar, despite the sanctity of the place. This was the famous sacrilege which led to the Curse of the Alcmaeonidae. Cylon himself and his brother made their escape, possibly to the Court of Theagenes at Megara.

Why did not the populace support Cylon in his attempt to overthrow the oligarchy? One possible answer is that they feared Cylon’s ascendancy would mean Athenian subjection to the hated neighbour-state of Megara, where Theagenes was despot. More probably there was no time for them to think the matter over; they were scattered

† GENEALOGY OF THE ALCMAEONIDAE.

MEGACLES I.

(Archon at the time of Cylon’s attempt)

CLEISTHENES (600-560 B.C.). ALCMAEON
(Tyrant of Sicyon.) (General in the Sacred War, c. 590.)

AGARISTE

MEGACLES II

(The opponent of Peisistratus)

CLEISTHENES
OF ATHENS
(The Reformer)

Daughter
married to
Peisistratus.

HIPPOCRATES.
(Grandfather of
Pericles)

about the country, and unprepared for the event; and whatever sympathy they might, on second thoughts, have felt for Cylon's aims was more than counterbalanced by instant indignation at his conduct in choosing for his enterprize a scene consecrated to the national divinities and a day sacred to Zeus, the *Diasia*, when to violate the peace was in itself a sacrilege. Finally, Cylon used for his *coup*, not Athenians, but Megarian troops lent by Theagenes, and their hostile presence in the most sacred spot of Athens must have foredoomed them to universal animosity.*

* Originally the town and territory of Megara had belonged to Attica. Hence, the hatred of the one state for the other, accentuated by the great prosperity of Megara at this time.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF ATHENS DRACO AND SOLON.

- § 1. Condition of the People — § 2 Draco's Codification of the Laws —
§ 3 The Ephetae — § 4 The *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* and the Constitution ascribed to Draco — § 5 The Four Property Classes —
§ 6 War with Megara. — § 7 The Curse of the Alcmaeonidae —
§ 8 The Visit of Epimenides. — § 9 Solon — § 10 His Social Reforms — § 11 His Constitutional Reforms — § 12 Other Measures — § 13 Reforms in Coinage — § 14. Criticism of Solon's Reforms — § 15. After Life of Solon

§ 1. SOLON had been supported in his attempt by his father-in-law, Theagenes of Megara; and the slaughter of Megarians in violation of the promise of Megacles enraged the despot and precipitated the struggle, which was in any case inevitable, for the possession of Salamis. The war which ensued* (about 629 B.C.) aggravated the economic distress of the agricultural poor, for it closed the market of Megara to Attic oil. The poor also now began to demand political rights, for the Thetes, including the small farmers, were excluded from the Ecclesia, and only the rich could hold office.

§ 2 Matters were almost ripe for revolution, and it was absolutely necessary that some concession should be made by the ruling class. It has already been mentioned that there was as yet no written code of law. The Thesmothetae decided cases according to customary and traditional forms known only to the Eupatidae and jealously guarded by them. The Thesmothetae had recorded some of their decisions in writing, but it is doubtful whether these decisions were binding on succeeding holders of the office.

* See § 6

Moreover the publication of decisions is a different thing from the publication of laws. In any case there existed as yet no semblance of a uniform legal procedure, and the common people were at the mercy of the nobles. The concession now wrung from the ruling class was a codification of the law. In 621 B.C., Draco was appointed Thesmothetes with extraordinary powers to codify and publish the law. He used as his basis the written decisions of former Thesmothetae, and save in one respect he seems not to have attempted to make the law less stringent. Thus the "laws of Dracon" are proverbial for their severity, but the codification was a great gain to the poor, as it was no longer open to the wealthy to oppress them without restraint. Moreover, Dracon at least mitigated the harshness of that part of the criminal law which deals with bloodshed, he was the first to draw distinctions between murder and different kinds of manslaughter. This was the only part of his legislation which was not repealed by Solon (594 B.C.); thus the harsher portion of the code of Dracon did not last many years.

§ 3. About this time we first hear of the jury of fifty-one Ephetae, whose province was to pronounce judgment in certain appointed spots upon various cases sent up to them from the courts of the king-archon and four tribe-kings. Cases of the intentional murder of a free citizen, of poisoning, and of incendiarism, went up to the Aieopagus, and did not concern the Ephetae. If the murder was accidental, or if it was the intentional murder of an alien, a stranger, or a slave, the Ephetae gave their verdict at the temple of Pallas at Phalerum. Certain cases of involuntary manslaughter, such as those occurring in war or in athletic contests, as well as justifiable homicides, were decided upon at the temple of Apollo (the Delphium). Even inanimate objects and animals which had caused death were arraigned by the Ephetae in the Prytaneum. Finally, they held a court at Phreatto (part of the Peiraeus) for those who had committed manslaughter while in exile and who were forbidden to set foot on Attic soil. In such cases the judges were on shore, the party accused was on board ship

§ 4. Some years ago there was discovered in Egypt a papyrus MS. containing the greater part of a treatise on the Constitution of Athens (*Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*). This treatise was written by one Aristotle (who was probably not the philosopher of that name), somewhere about the year 330 B.C. In many respects it supplements or otherwise modifies accepted theories about Athenian constitutional history. When the treatise was first discovered, there was a tendency among historians to take its statements as Gospel, but on closer study it was found to contradict, not only in minor points, but even as regards salient and important events, well-established contemporary authorities like Thucydides. Hence its statements are now generally received with great caution, and only accepted as reliable when not actually at variance with other authorities.

This treatise represents Draco as a political reformer as well as a codifier of the law, and it describes the details of the constitution which he is represented as having drawn up.

Most historians are now of opinion that the treatise is misleading on this point; and they have returned to the old view that Dracon was simply the author or compiler of a written code of law. In 411 B.C. the statesman Theramenes and his party were eager to set up a moderate polity—something between an oligarchy and the extreme democracy which then existed at Athens—and in order to be able to point to a precedent for such a constitution, they invented one which they assigned to Dracon, and which they called “the constitution of our fathers.” Their chief object was to bring forward a constitution which they could assign to a pre-Solonian reformer. Simply to go back to Solon did not suit their purpose; for Solon they vilified as the first of the demagogues, and the founder of a democracy in which there was no room for privilege due to wealth or birth. The author of the Constitution of Athens doubtless only reproduces this forgery of Theramenes, though by his time (330 B.C.) it was probably thought to be really the work of Dracon.

§ 5. The chief features of this “Draconian” constitution

which Draco never drew up, were the² restoration of the Ecclesia, to which every one who could furnish himself with a military outfit was admitted; the creation of a Council of Four Hundred, and a fixed property-qualification for the Archonship and other offices.

In this connexion we find the division of the population of Attica on the basis of income, to which reference was made in the last chapter, ascribed to Draco. It has already been pointed out* that this division dates from about 650 B.C. It was probably at first not a formal or official division at all. The growth of trade and commerce caused the claims of wealth as well as of mere birth to be more and more recognised, but it may not have been till the time of Dracon or even of Solon that the four property-classes were formally and officially established as the basis of political distinctions. This therefore seems a fitting place to say what these classes were. The highest class was that of *Pentacosiomedimni* ("Five hundred measure men"); it comprised all whose income was of the annual value of as many measures (dry measure) of corn and so many measures (liquid measure) of oil or wine as together made not less than 500 measures. The second class, the *Hyppeis* ("Knights"), consisted of those whose annual income represented in value not less than 300 but less than 500 measures. To the third class belonged all who possessed an annual income of the value of not less than 200 but less than 300 measures. This class was called the *Zeugitæ* ("Teamsters"), i.e. men able to afford a yoke of oxen. The rest of the citizens (all whose annual income fell below the minimum required for the *Zeugitæ*) were known as *Thetes*, they consisted of the smaller peasant proprietors (*Geomorai*) and the lesser handicraftsmen (*Demiurgi*). They were not admitted to the ecclesia till the time of Solon, who also formally included them as one of the property-classes.

The Archonship was open only to the first class; the second and third classes were eligible for minor offices, the *Thetes* for no office whatever.

It should be carefully noted that though the above

* See p. 101.

rating is expressed in terms of landed wealth, those possessing no land were not excluded, a measure of corn or oil was counted as equivalent to one drachma, so that a landless man whose income was not less than 500 drachmae (£20 only, but money was very scarce) was included among the *Pentacosiomedimni*

§ 6 The codification of the law brought no relief to the small farmers and free labourers; their distress was aggravated, as we have seen, by the war with Megara, which still went on. The island of Salamis was wrested from Athens, but home troubles had so impaired the power of the Athenians that they did not attempt to recover it until Solon, a Eupatrid and also a leading merchant, denounced the cowardice of the people with such good results that not only was Salamis recovered, but Nisaea, the port of Megara, fell into the hands of the Athenians (610 B.C.). About 596 B.C., however, the Megarians recaptured both Salamis and Nisaea.*

§ 7 The ill success of the Athenians was largely due to the increase of dissension amongst the Eupatridae. Those who were jealous of the great power of the family of the Alcmaeonidae, a power not likely to be diminished by the part it had played in suppressing Cylon's attempt, found a handle against it in the sacrilege committed by Megacles on that occasion†. Quarrels between the nobles brought disaster to the state; and the people, always superstitious, saw in these disasters the direct judgment of heaven upon the sacrilege. The outcry against the Alcmaeonidae—"the Accursed," as they were called—became so great that an appeal was made to Delphi‡. The oracle ordered the expulsion of the "Curse"§. Solon induced the Alcmaeonidae to submit to the decision of a special tribunal of three hundred members belonging to their own order. The result was that the entire house was banished, and the very bones of their dead were taken

* Salamis was finally recovered by Peisistratus (Ch. XIV.) about 570-565 B.C.

† See p. 104.

‡ The Delphian priests had countenanced Cylon's attempt—a possible reason for their action towards his rivals at this juncture.

§ τὸ ἄγος.

up and cast beyond the borders (599 B.C.) It seems that they were soon allowed to return, at least some of them; for the general of the Athenians in the Sacred War was Alcmaeon, and they were again powerful in Peisistratus' time

§ 8 The popular mind was however so much disturbed, and religious excitement had reached such a pitch, that nothing could be done. The Greek was naturally emotional, and while he still believed in his gods his emotion took the shape of the most cowardly superstition. So the Athenians believed heaven to be wroth with them beyond appeasement, and it was not until the government, on the suggestion of Solon, had called in the good offices of Epimenides of Crete, that they outgrew their terrors, and became rational again. By his moral influence as one high in the favour of the gods, no less than by his material interference to quell fanaticism in any shape, he was able to restore confidence, and returned to Crete, enriched only with a branch of the sacred olive tree, the reward for which he asked.

§ 9 It was probably as a sort of expiation for past sins, as well as to show honour to the god, that Solon induced the Athenians about this time to join in the Sacred War.* This was the commencement of a connection with Cleisthenes of Sicyon which had momentous results for Athens. The war lasted ten years (595-586 B.C.), and served to keep the military population of Athens engaged while Solon inaugurated his famous reforms.

Dracon had done nothing to remove the causes of social misery at Athens. The laws of debt remained unaltered, and the free labourers still passed steadily into the condition of serfs, or were even sold into slavery abroad; the small farms were all mortgaged. The recent struggle over "the Accursed," and the ill success of the war with Megara, had induced violent feelings which might, at any moment, enable a new Cylon to assume the despotism. Solon's warnings, as well as his previous conduct, pointed him out as the man to remedy the case, and in 594 B.C., he was

* See p. 87.

elected Archon, and formally entrusted with the economic reform of the state.

§ 10. This reform was a drastic one, and so much immediate relief was felt in consequence of it that it was called the *Seisachthera* or "shaking-off of burdens." All debts secured upon land were cancelled. By this measure the small landed proprietors got back their farms, and the mortgage-pillars were removed from the land. All debts secured on the person were likewise cancelled, and those who had become slaves for debt were restored to their liberty. This measure freed the Hectemori and their families from serfdom; serfdom into which they or their descendants could never again fall, for by a further measure it was declared illegal to secure a debt upon the person of the borrower.

§ 11. On the expiration of his tenure of office, July 593, Solon received full authority to revise the constitution. He was a man peculiarly fitted for the task. As a Eupatrid he was not likely to make the constitution ultra-democratic; as a great merchant, he would recognise the claims of wealth as well as those of birth. His aim seems to have been to establish a moderate democracy by developing and giving form to that tendency to timocracy which showed itself in connection with the increase of commerce which marked the middle of the seventh century B.C.

The Constitution of Solon was as follows.—

(a) The Draconian code was abolished entirely, excepting the law relating to homicide.

(b) The four tribes, with their divisions into trittyes and naucraries, were retained, as also the nine Archons and other state-officers, but

(c) All precedence due to birth was formally abolished. Henceforth, rank and office depended upon property alone, the populace being classed according to the property-classes referred to above as having been in existence since the middle of the seventh century. The Thetes were definitely added as a fourth class. After this date there were no longer to be any Eupatridæ.

(d) The final censorship and revision of the entire state was still vested in the Council of the Areopagus but its deliberative functions were transferred to the new deliberative Council of 400.

(e) The Archons (who became life members of the Areopagus on the expiration of their term of office) were now chosen without regard

to birth. Each of the four tribes elected ten candidates (but only from the First Class—the *Pentacosiomedimni*), and from the forty so nominated, nine were chosen *by lot*.

(*f*) A new deliberative council was established consisting of 400 members, 100 from each tribe, with the duty of sanctioning any measure before it was brought before the people in the *Ecclesia*.

(*g*) The three upper classes furnished the remaining state-officers,* according to a fixed property-qualification, while

(*h*) The lowest class, the *Thetes*, received full recognition as members of the *Ecclesia*, and also the right to serve as jurors in the law-courts.

(*i*) Any citizen was at liberty to institute a prosecution, even for offences which did not concern him personally.

The import of the last enactment was that the magistrate was answerable to the citizens collectively and individually for his conduct during his year of office. It gave to each citizen a real interest in criticising the actions of his officers, and thus acted as a most powerful check upon the latter, while it bred that disputatious spirit which afterwards became the special feature in Athenian life. The Solonian law-court was not identical with that of later times. It was the *Heliaea* (*Ἡλιαία*), a permanent jury for the year, empannelled from all the citizens of good character and of thirty years of age and upwards. It served as a court of appeal from the decisions of the *Ecclesia* and the Archons, and was therefore essentially democratic. One of its earliest duties must have been to examine the accounts of magistrates at the end of their term of office. Its members were known as *Heliaestae* (*Ἡλιασταί*), and received no pay for their services.

* These were (1) the *Tamiae* (*ταμίαι*), the ten custodians of the state treasures in the temple of Athene on the Acropolis. (2) The *Pōlētai* (*πωληταί*), ten commissioners who saw to the leasing of the public revenue-collections, mines, etc., and to the taxation of metics (*μέτοικοι*, resident-aliens). (3) The *Colacretae* or *Colagretae* (*κωλακρέται*, or *κωλαγρέται*), ten finance-officers, under whom the *Prytaneis* of the *Naucraries* were subordinated. This office was as old as the monarchy, and took its name from the *κωλαί*, hams, originally collected as contributions to the public sacrifices. (4) The *Eleven* (*οἱ ἑνδεκά*), ten commissioners and a secretary, superintendents of the public prison, responsible for the execution of the death sentence ordered by any tribunal.

§ 12. But the Solonian reforms embraced every branch of government and law. Amongst other items of legislation were: that whosoever remained neutral in a time of *στάσις* should forfeit his rights as a citizen; that none should own more than a certain quantity of land; that no export of any food-article should be permitted, save olive oil; that a son whose father had neglected to teach him a trade should be exempt from the duty of supporting him in old age; that metics should have special advantages; that any one who carried off an Olympic victory should receive a state-reward of 500 *drachmae*. Further, his legislation ordained a strict code of family morals, defined clearly and sternly the privileges of women, children, orphans, and heiresses; and allowed a childless man to devise his property entirely at his discretion.

§ 13 Solon's reforms in weights, measures, and coinage are of commercial and political though not of social importance. The Aeginetan system had been adopted by Athens. But now the interests of Athens, mercantile and political alike, were no longer akin to those of Aegina or Megara. She had become connected with Corinth and with the Euboean towns. These cities used the Euboic system,* and Solon now replaced the Aeginetan scale of weights, measures, and coinage by one nearly resembling the Euboic.

These laws were inscribed on revolving triangular pillars (*κύρβεις*, *ἄλφες*) and set up in the Agora. Then Solon exacted an oath that the State should well and truly observe them for ten years, and left the country.

§ 14. Criticising his work, the author of the "Constitution of Athens" says that in three points it was democratic: (1) in abolishing the possibility of serfdom; (2) in making the magistrates responsible to the people for their conduct in office; (3) in giving to the very lowest class the freedom of the law-courts, and the right to come forward as prosecutors in any case. Thucydides praises it because it was a judicious mixture of elements alike Oligarchic,† Aristocratic,‡ and Democratic §

* Ch. X, § 3.

† *I e.*, the Areopagus

‡ *I e.*, the election of the Archons from the highest class only.

§ *I e.*, the extension of the powers of the Thetes, as just noticed.

Of course there were many still dissatisfied—the rich at the loss of their money by the *Seisachtheia*, the poor because they had not attained that re-division of land for which they had looked. The extreme oligarchs and the extreme democrats were alike disappointed, and even the reformer's personal friends were ill-pleased, for they had hoped to see him seize the *tyrannis* and to share in the power so gained.

§ 15 It was to escape from so many complaints, to avoid compulsory concessions and to prosecute his mercantile business, that Solon withdrew from the city, and went to Cyprus and Egypt. He is said in legend to have visited also Croesus, king of Lydia, at Sardis, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the story with chronology*. He is known to have been at Athens in the year when Peisistratus first seized the *tyrannis* (560 B.C.), and he probably died very soon after that event.

* Croesus ascended the throne 560 B.C., and his fall certainly did not occur before 549 B.C. (546 B.C. is the usual date), but the legend makes Solon meet Croesus when already king, within ten years of his legislation, i.e. before 580 B.C.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF ATHENS THE TYRANNY

§ 1 Damasias—§ 2 The Plain, Shore, and Mountain.—§ 3 Peisistratus' First Tyranny—§ 4 Second Tyranny—§ 5 Second Exile—§ 6 Third Tyranny—§ 7 His Rule—§ 8 Murder of Hipparchus—§ 9 Hippias and the Alcmaeonidae—§ 10 Interference of Sparta—§ 11 Expulsion of the Peisistatidae

§ 1 IN spite of the oath that Solon is said to have exacted from the Athenians, his constitution was early disturbed. No archon could be elected in 590 B C on account of the violent factions which prevailed, and the same thing happened four years later (586 B C). In 582 B C one Damasias, chief Archon of the year, endeavoured to make himself tyrant. He continued to be continued in office during a second year (581 B C), but when he ventured to retain his powers for yet a third year, he was expelled by the unanimous attack of all classes. Next year (579 B C) a board of ten archons was elected, five from the Eupatridae, three from the Agroeci (*i e* Geomoi), and two from the Demiurgi. This strange inversion to the old classes from the property classes of Solon, seems to show that "the old families being obliged to admit the lower orders to a share in the government, preferred to do so under the nomenclature of the old divisions." The Solonian arrangement was reverted to, 578 B C.

§ 2. Nevertheless the discontent continued. Instead of a quarrel of rich against poor, there came the triple faction of the Men of the Shore, the Plain, and the Mountain*. The Shore, the moderate party, were led by Megacles, grandson of him who murdered the Cylonians, the Plain, or party of oligarchy and conservatism, were led by Lycurgus and

* Παράλιοι, Πεδεῖς or Πεδιακοί, Διάκριοι

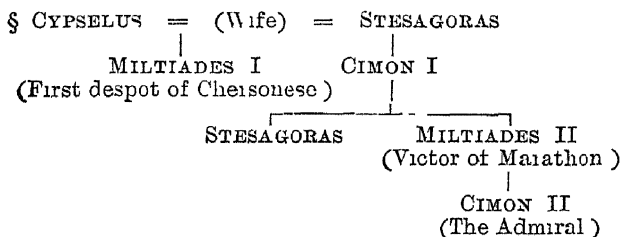
Miltiades; the Mountain, or party of extreme reform, supported Peisistratus, who played the role of demagogue,* and moreover numbered amongst his supporters all the poor and reckless as well as those who feared an oligarchic restoration because themselves not of noble birth. The quarrel grew bitter, despite the warnings of Solon, and Peisistratus was readily believed when he pretended that his political rivals were bent on taking his life. His followers granted him a bodyguard † of fifty men, and by their help, in the year 560 B C, he made himself despot of Athens ‡

§ 3 Lycurgus and Megacles withdrew from notice; Miltiades left Attica. The Thracian tribe of the Dolonci in the Chersonese, harassed by their neighbours, sent to Delphi to inquire how they should defend themselves. They were bidden offer the chieftainship to him who first gave them shelter. This was Miltiades. He succeeded in establishing himself as a despot in the Chersonese, and thus laid the foundation of a long subsequent connection between that region and Attica. With him went his half-brother Cimon, whose two sons Stesagoras and Miltiades II successively held the *tyrannis* there. Of the second Miltiades we shall hear again in the time of Darius, his son was the famous Cimon, the Athenian admiral § Peisistratus proved a gentle despot, whose aim was to encourage trade and agriculture that the lower classes might have the less leisure for reviewing their position. The upper classes were controlled by the

* See p 76, note

† *κορωνηφόροι*, "Club-bearers"

‡ By descent he was of the royal house of Nestor at Pylus, expelled at the time of the Dorian invasion. Of his early life nothing is known except that at some uncertain date, he distinguished himself in the war with Megara, mentioned on p 106, 110



presence of the despot's bodyguard, now increased to the dimensions of a small standing army of mercenaries. But the success of Peisistratus was naturally the signal for reconciliation between Lycurgus and Megacles who joined in a successful effort to expel him (c 555 B.C.)

§ 4. Six years later (c 549 B.C.) he returned. He had probably withdrawn no further than across the Attic border, there to await an opportunity for another *coup d'état*. This arrived when Megacles quarrelled with his late ally Lycurgus and invited Peisistratus to return. The story of the stratagem by which he made his entry unresisted into the city is by Herodotus denominated incredibly foolish, he equipped one Phye, a woman of exceptional stature and beauty, in the garb of Athene, and drove boldly into Athens with her at his side, while outriders called upon the people to welcome him whom the goddess came in person to restore. The trick was entirely successful, Peisistratus once more occupied the Acropolis, and according to his bond with Megacles, married the latter's daughter.

There is no reason to doubt the truth of the story about Phye, and it proves two things, viz that the Athenians were still exceedingly superstitious, and that the supporters of Peisistratus were both numerous and ready.

§ 5 The second tyranny of Peisistratus lasted only six years. Megacles quarrelled again with his ally on some point connected with his daughter, allied himself with the Parali, published the trick by which Peisistratus had been restored, and once again expelled the despot (543 B.C.), who first retired to the town of Rhaecelus, near the Thermaic Gulf, and then passed to the district of Mount Pangaeus in Thrace. There he spent ten years in collecting men and money*. He then stationed himself at Eretria in Euboea, where he had the favour of the ruling oligarchy, the Hippobotae, and prepared to recover his throne by force. He had the support of Thebes and Naxos, while a marriage alliance with Aigos brought him the valuable aid of a thousand Argives. Landing at Marathon he advanced to

* So we learn from *Athen. Pol.* It used to be inferred from Herodotus' account that the whole period of exile was spent at Eretria.

Pallene, whither the Athenians moved to oppose him. In the battle which followed Peisistratus won a decisive and all but bloodless victory, and so commenced his third *tyrannis*, destined to endure until his death (533-527 B.C.).*

§ 6 On this third and last return Peisistratus took stronger measures for his security. He retained his Thracian, Naxian, and Argive mercenaries, contrived to disarm the commonalty; took hostages of four hundred of the nobility, and sent into immediate and lasting banishment many of the upper classes and the entire house of the Alcmaeonidae. To pay his troops and support himself he levied a tithe upon all property in Attica, but he was not guilty of needless oppression, and indeed his whole bearing was "rather that of a good citizen than of a despot." He even maintained the Solonian forms of government, taking care, of course, to fill up the archonship from members of his own house; and it was at an ecclesia summoned in regular course that he stripped the people of their arms. At his court he entertained and encouraged all forms of literature, and he was accredited with having ordered the publication of the first complete edition of Homer. In his foreign policy, he was consistently deferent to Sparta, and on the best of terms with the neighbouring states, especially Argos, Thessaly, and Thrace. He possessed property on the banks of the Strymon, which he may have received as a reward for services done in that quarter during his long second exile. He followed the plan of the contemporary tyrants of Asiatic Greece, and cautiously felt his way towards winning the favour of the Persian king; and it was to further this view that he set up his son Hegesistratus as despot of Sigeum. The encroachment of Athens in that quarter was displeasing to the Mitylenaeans, who offered forcible resistance, but without success. Soon after his restoration he restored Lygdamis, the expelled tyrant of

* The only dates for Peisistratus' life which are certainly known are those of his accession and death, i.e. 560-527 B.C. The others must be arrived at by the help of various contradictory statements. Other dates of the three tyrannies are 560-555, 550-549, 539-527 (Bury), 560-555, 551-545, 535-527 (Kenyon, in *Athen. Pol.*).

Naxos, and Lygdamis in his turn aided Polycrates to acquire and keep Samos.

§ 7. With these exceptions the reign of Peisistratus was a time of peace. He did all he could to encourage trade, commerce, and agriculture, it was not unusual with him to remit the tithe in cases of deserving farmers, or to provide them with seed for the new crops. Such surplus funds as remained to him he expended in the erection of temples and other public works, and in the aggrandisement of the national festivals. From this era dates the quadrennial magnificence of the Panathenaea with its games and torch-races, its procession of the Peplus, and its prize of a simple amphora from the hands of some master artist, painted with scenes from the mythology of Athene and filled with Attic oil. Now, too, the festivals of Dionysus grew in importance, and tragedy received its first impulse under Thespis. Peisistratus was still a tyrant because his power was ill-gotten, yet few could deny that it was well-used.

§ 8. Peisistratus left three legitimate sons, Hippias who succeeded him, besides Hipparchus and Thessalus, who were associated with Hippias. The comparatively mild disposition of this despot-house is proved by the fact that the brothers lived in harmony. But the occasion for *tyrannis* was gone: the land was no longer torn by the disputes of rival factions, or oppressed by an oligarchy, the days of Peisistratus had seen the levelling of old distinctions, and the rise of a new and unanimous feeling against despotism. On the other hand the possession of power brought abuse with it. Hippias murdered Cimon, brother of Miltiades, thrice winner of the chariot-race at Olympia, Hipparchus insulted the honour of Harmodius, a young noble who had rejected the other's advances. The latter outrage was the cause of Hipparchus' fall. Harmodius, supported by his friend Aristogeiton, organised a small band of conspirators. They arranged to fall upon the despots while all Athens was assembled to take part in the armed procession* of the

* But there is evidence to show that at that time the Athenians did not bear arms in the procession. Moreover a tyrant would hardly allow the people to appear in arms.

Panathenaea, hoping to find at once a popular support sufficient to outweigh the strength of Hippias' mercenaries. At the last moment, the two chief conspirators were thunder-struck to see one of their number in confidential talk with Hippias. Believing themselves betrayed, they gave up the design of attacking Hippias, and killed Hipparchus whom they happened to meet. Harmodius was struck down in the act, Aristogiton escaped for a few hours, only to be taken and killed by torture. Hippias learnt the news with admirable coolness. Before the populace as a body knew what had occurred, he had contrived to disarm them, and so the plot had effected nothing but the death of the younger brother.

§ 9. Its after-effects were greater. Hippias felt his insecurity and proceeded to use the tyrant's artifices for his protection. He robbed, exiled, or put to death at will; he strengthened his force of mercenaries and began to fortify Munychia; and with foresight for what might still happen he drew closer his relations with Amyntas, king of Macedon, and with the Aleuadae of Larissa in Thessaly, and followed up his father's policy of conciliating Persia by contracting a marriage alliance with the despot of Lampsacus, a high favourite at Susa. For four years more he remained despot amid growing detestation (514-510 B.C.).

The triumph of Peisistratus had involved the exile of the Alcmaeonidae, though not on the old score of "the Curse". They were too proud and too fond of power to submit to exile, and for years they had been silently working for their restoration. Sparta was the leading power in Hellas, and although Sparta was on friendly terms with the Peisistratidae in spite of the alliance of the latter with Argos, she was notoriously priest-led by the authority of Delphi. Accordingly the Alcmaeonidae set themselves to win the favour of the Delphic priesthood. In the year 548 B.C. the temple of Apollo was in great part destroyed by fire. In consequence, there was thrown upon the market a large contract for restoring the building. This the Alcmaeonidae took up. The contract required them to build the pronaos of limestone: they used Parian marble, and the favour of Delphi was assured. It required little now to bring it

about that, whenever Spartan Theors arrived to make inquiry of the oracle, the god's reply was monotonously the same—"Athens must be freed"

§ 10 Sparta was not anxious to interfere. She was not desirous of becoming involved in the politics of Greece outside the Isthmus; she had a good deal to do within the Isthmus, particularly in regard to Argos, she had no particular quarrel with the house of Peisistratus, except perhaps their alliance with Argos,* and that house was armed to the teeth. On the other hand, the Alcmaeonidae were oligarchs, and there was a general belief that Sparta would uphold any oligarchy and discountenance any *tyrannis*;† her interference might possibly add Attica to the list of her already numerous allies, most of all, there was no working the oracle at Delphi until the god's mandate was fulfilled. So Sparta resolved to expel Hippias

Meantime the Alcmaeonidae had already summoned up courage to seize the hill fort of Leipsydium, on Parnes, and had been disastrously driven out by the all-powerful cavalry of Hippias (513 B.C.) So strong was the despot in this arm of war that when at last (511 B.C.), Anchemolus, or Anchemolus, the Spartan general landed his troops in Attica, he was completely foiled, and lost his own life at the hands of Cineas, a Thessalian mercenary captain of horse, who had recently brought 1000 troops to Hippias' aid.

§ 11. Sparta was nettled she had to revenge the death of a general Cleomenes led up a second and larger force, which defeated the Thessalians, and shut up Hippias within the Acropolis

Within a few days the children of the Peisistratidae, whom they were endeavouring to send out of the country, fell into the hands of the Spartans; and with these as hostages, Cleomenes was able to bring Hippias to terms. He agreed to withdraw from Attica within five days. He retired to Sigeum on the Hellespont, where he began to intrigue for Persian support. Such of the tyrant's partisans as had not

* Aristotle lays considerable stress on this as a motive for Spartan interference, in the *Athen Pol*

† Sparta had just expelled Lygdamis from Naxos and established an oligarchy there

brought themselves into too great prominence were allowed to remain unmolested "The Athenian democracy was ever lenient and forgiving," says Aristotle. Athens was handed over to its own people, or rather to the two factions which followed their rival nobles Cleisthenes and Isagoras (510 B C).

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF ATHENS CLEISTHENES.

- § 1 Isagoras and Cleisthenes — § 2 The Constitution of Cleisthenes.
— § 3 Ostracism — § 4 Further Interference of Sparta — § 5.
Method of passing Laws. — § 6 The Boule — § 7 The Ecclesia
— § 8 The Heliaca — § 9 The Audit — § 10 The Archons —
§ 11 The Strategi

§ 1 ISAGORAS was one of the Peisistratid faction, and his object was to restore the oligarchy in the hope of making himself despot ultimately. Cleisthenes was the son of that Megacles who married Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon. He was therefore an Alcmaeonid, and descended from a tyrant, and he might have been expected to aim at the *tyrannis* for himself, the rather as the Alcmaeonidae were now high in favour at Athens as the prime causes of the fall of the Peisistratids. There was not, however, free scope for such designs while Isagoras was in the field, and to outbid his rival, Cleisthenes stood forward as the champion of the democracy, just emancipated and as yet without a leader. So cordially was he supported that Isagoras found himself baffled; he appealed again to Sparta, where he was on terms of guest-friendship with Cleomenes, basing his appeal on the fact that Cleisthenes was one of "the Accused." He doubtless traded too on the Spartan dislike of democracy, and on the probability of Cleisthenes making himself despot by demagogic arts. Cleomenes enjoyed interfering. The news of his approach was sufficient to secure the retirement of Cleisthenes. Thereupon Cleomenes banished seven hundred of his partisans, and at Isagoras' suggestion, proceeded to dissolve the Senate—the Solonian Constitution was at the time in force—and to set up an oligarchy of three hundred with Isagoras at their head.

The Senate declined to disperse, the populace, seeing whither matters were tending, rose in a body, Cleomenes and his troops were shut up within the Acropolis together with their *protégés*, and after a few hours' siege, the Spartan king was glad to purchase his unmolested departure by the surrender of his position, and of such Athenians as had sought his protection. These the victors at once put to death. Isagoras made his escape, Cleisthenes returned stronger than ever (508 B.C.).

§ 2 He determined to render oligarchy and its consequent tyranny alike impossible for the future. Oligarchy owed its strength to the ties of blood which fostered the exclusiveness of such great clans as the Alcmaeonidae, the Cypselidae, and the Peisistratidae. Clanship is synonymous with cliquism, and cliquism is the greatest obstacle to harmony in politics. Such, however, was the basis of society in Athens, where the clans dominated the four Ionic tribes, which had been retained by Solon as a political power. Cleisthenes swept away their political importance at a blow. Henceforth there were to be ten tribes; and for political purposes there were no longer *gentes* but *demes*, i.e. small local divisions embracing all those who occupied as it were a certain parish. The number of the demes seems at first to have been ten to a tribe, this would make 100 in all, in later times there were 174. Each tribe comprised a certain number of such demes, which were arranged in three groups called *trittyes*. The first trittys embraced only Coast demes where the Parali were the leading party, the second was made up of Plain-land demes of the Pediaeans; the last trittys was of Mountain demes*.

Thus the three parties (Diacrii, Parali, Pedieis) were fused together, by being scattered equally amongst all the tribes; no tribe could boast of any tradition of policy or of blood. The demes were named after some traditional founder, if he could be discovered, or in default after their respective localities, and a citizen was in future known in

* Thus 1 tribe = 3 trittyes (i.e. 1 portion each of the Shore, Plain, and Mountain) = 10 demes. As 10 is not a multiple of 3, the demes must have been distributed unequally among the trittyes. e.g. in a tribe the trittys of the Shore might comprise 4 demes, that of the Plain, 3, that of the Mountain, 3.

all public matters as a demesman (*δημότης*) of such-and-such a deme, not as before, as the son of such-and-such a father. The latter title, that of the old *gens* system, remained only for religious duties. The names of the ten tribes were taken from those of ten heroes named by the Delphic oracle*.

Thus the *trittys* received a new meaning, and the *naucrary* disappeared,† the duties of the old Prytans of the *Naucraries* being now discharged by Demarchs (*δήμαρχοι*). Moreover, whereas the old gentile system had rendered the admission of aliens to the franchise a process very difficult and disagreeable, Cleisthenes was now enabled to enrol as demesmen (and *ergo*, citizens) a large number of metics, non-resident aliens, and even emancipated slaves. The receptivity of Athenian political society was again demonstrated by this procedure, which furnished the Democracy with new supporters, and the state at large with new blood.

On the basis of this new tribe-division the Senate (*βουλή*) was now enlarged to the number of 500, fifty being chosen from each tribe.

There was no interference with the archons and their respective provinces, but the *Strategi* (*στρατηγοί*), which had under Solon's Constitution been only an extraordinary magistracy, were henceforth a permanent board of ten, one from each tribe. They were elected by the people in the *Ecclesia*, and the same method was adopted in appointing the archons, the Solonian system being in this point altered.

§ 3. It remains to mention the famous institution of *Ostracism*, a process intended to remove from the state any member whose presence was for the time undesirable. Cleisthenes was led to propose this device through the evils which Athens had already suffered from factions and their leaders. It was this party spirit which had led to the

* Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion, Aegeus, Leon, Acamas, Oeneus, Hippothoon, Aias (of Salamis), Antiochus.

† Or perhaps only existed for the purpose of supplying ships for the state. At any rate it disappeared after Themistocles' reform of the navy, B.C. 482.

tyranny of the Peisistratidae, and had shown itself but recently in the disputes between Cleisthenes and Isagoras. The new tribes had effectually broken up the factions, and it now remained to make their leaders equally harmless. The remedy which was devised sent a citizen into honourable banishment for a period of ten years. Neither his property nor his civic rights were touched, and at the expiration of his term of exile, and usually long before, the citizen returned to take part in public affairs now that his presence was no longer the cause of tumult. Cleisthenes enacted that if a crisis rendered such action necessary, the Prytans of the Council might put the question whether any citizen ought to be sent into exile. If the people decided in the affirmative, a day was fixed for the Ecclesia to vote for the expulsion of any citizen whom they might consider dangerous. If 6000 oyster-shells (*ὄστρακα*) were cast against one person, he was sent from the city.

§ 4. Though the Constitution was now carried it was by no means out of danger. Cleomenes of Sparta was still smarting from his forced retirement in 508 B.C. Other enemies threatened from the North. In his previous expedition, Cleomenes had advised the people of Plataea, though a Boeotian town, to enrol themselves as allies of Athens. His expectation that such an act would bring Athens into conflict with Thebes was speedily fulfilled. The Thebans made an alliance with the Chalcidians of Euboea, and concerted measures with Sparta for a combined attack on the common foe. Cleomenes marched as far as the plain of Eleusis before he ventured to tell the members of the Spartan alliance that he was going to set up his friend Isagoras as Tyrant. Demaratus opposed such a proceeding, and found himself backed by a majority of the allies. The Corinthians were especially bitter, and in the end the Peloponnesian forces disbanded leaving the Athenians unmolested. Meanwhile the Boeotians and Euboeans had been raiding the northern parts of Attica. Hurrying northwards, the Athenians managed to crush the enemy while separated. They first routed the Boeotians, then crossed the Euripus and vanquished the Chalcidians. Chalcis itself fell into their hands. They expelled the

ruling oligarchy of the Hippobotæ, confiscated their lands and established thereon cleruchies of 4000 Athenian families.

Though beaten, the Thebans were in no mood to discontinue the struggle. They found that the people of Aegina were sufficiently actuated by commercial jealousy towards Athens to side with them. The Aeginetans accordingly began to ravage the coast of Attica by means of their powerful fleet.

Cleomenes also was unwilling to relinquish his purpose. He remembered that Hippias was eager to secure his re-establishment, and invited him to proceed to Sparta where a congress of the allies was being held to determine on the course of action. No combined policy could be agreed upon, for the Corinthians were as obstinate as they had previously been, and the remainder of the allies showed no enthusiasm to become the champions of tyranny. Hippias returned to Sigeum, where he endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the Persians, an attempt in which he was fairly successful.

§ 5 The Athenian Democracy may be said to date from the reforms of Cleisthenes. Time brought with it various modifications of detail (especially in the jury-system), but in the main it continued the same.

The Law of Athens remained primarily that of Solon's day: this was accepted as the theoretical basis, and no alteration was allowed without every safeguard of ceremonial and publicity. In the time of Demosthenes the procedure was as follows: any one wishing to alter the existing law in any way, must first state his views in the first regular Ecclesia of the year. If the people approved, in the third regular assembly a special commission (*νομοθέται*) was appointed to consider it, and at the same time five advocates (*σύνδικοι*) were named to act as a counsel for the defence on behalf of the existing law. The Nomothetæ were elected by lot from the Heliasts, to a number decided by the people as befitting the importance of the case; and they were bound by special oaths to act as they best could for the state's good. The Thesmothetæ acted as presidents of the court. If they approved the proposed change,

the law was at once amended; if not, no alteration was made.

To provide against possible inconsistencies which might arise from frequent amendments, the six junior archons, the Thesmothetae, were bound, on pain of forfeiting their right to a seat in the Areopagus, to revise the entire body of law once a year and see that it was uniform. Such was the process by which law proper (*νόμος*) was made.

Side by side with the law stood the resolutions (*ψηφίσματα*) of the Ecclesia. These were valid only for a limited time, usually a year. They must pass through two stages. first they must obtain the approval of the senate (*βουλή*), at which stage they were called *προβουλεύματα*; secondly, they were submitted to the people in the Ecclesia. When a *προβούλευμα* was approved by the people it became a *ψήφισμα*.

§ 6 The 500 members of the senate (*βουλευταί*) were chosen annually by lot, 50 from each tribe, and took a solemn oath to perform their duty faithfully and well. The year was divided into 10 periods (*πρυτανείαι*) of 36 or 35 days each,* and for each period the 50 senators of a particular tribe were leaders of the house (*πρυτανεύειν*), the order of service of each tribe being decided by lot. These constituted the Prytans (*πρυτάνεις*) for the time being they dined at the public expense in the Tholos or Prytaneum, and in their hands were vested for the time the functions of our "Government bench." They assembled the Senate daily for business, drew up and published the "orders of the day," i. e. the programme of business, convened the Ecclesia, heard heralds and embassies, and received all state-despatches. Of their number was elected daily a president (*ἐπιστάτης*), who was for twenty-four hours keeper of the keys of the treasury and of the public seal, and was not allowed to leave the Tholos for that period.

When a meeting of the Senate or an Ecclesia was summoned, the President of the Prytans for the time being appointed by lot out of the other nine tribes nine Proedri (*πρόεδροι*), one of whom received the title of President of the Proedri. These nine officers were commissioned to maintain

* In all, a *lunar* year of 354 days

order in the assembly,* to make proclamation of the business to be done according to a programme handed to them by the President of the Prytans, and to take the votes.

Any one wishing to introduce a motion of his own (a "Private Bill"), had to apply to the President of the Prytans for permission to do so, and proceeded to obtain a *προβούλευμα*. To the Senate, too, belonged the right to approve the names of those elected for the office of senators in the succeeding year, to nominate to the people certain candidates, especially for military posts, and to examine and approve the names of the newly-elected Archons†. In finance, they were keepers of the treasury, and had special superintendence of all matters connected with the maintenance of the army and the fleet, the docks, etc., according to the orders of the people in the Ecclesia. They had a general control over all public buildings, could send for trial any one whose conduct seemed equivocal, and inflict a fine of 500 drachmas. This was the limit of their judicial powers in later times, but in the time of Cleisthenes they possessed and exercised a summary jurisdiction which allowed them to imprison, fine, or put to death without warrant or trial. Afterwards they passed on all the more serious cases to the Heliasts or the Ecclesia. The Senate was sometimes entrusted by the Ecclesia with summary power in dealing with cases which were outside its usual jurisdiction.

§ 7 But the ultimate sovereign in Athens was the Ecclesia, the assembly of all duly qualified citizens above the age of twenty-one years. It met in the Agora originally, and at a later date on the hill called the Pnyx, where was a large space artificially levelled for its accommodation, with a raised platform of stone at one end, the Bema (*βῆμα*), upon which speakers stood to address the people. The reform of

* This, at least, was the custom in the time of Demosthenes, but it seems that during the fifth century the Prytans themselves acted as presidents in the Boule and the Ecclesia.

† The technical term for such examination was *δοκιμασία*, and its object was to exclude persons of disreputable character or manifest incapacity.

Cleisthenes introducing numbers of previously disqualified persons to a share in its privileges, following on the Solonian admission of the Thetes to the Ecclesia, made the assembly one of unwieldy size. A normal meeting was between 6000 and 7000, at extraordinary times it might rise to 10,000. Fines were imposed by Cleisthenes on such as absented themselves, a rule which was subsequently done away with when payment for attendance was instituted.

Originally the Ecclesia was convened normally only once in each Prytany, *i.e.*, ten times in the year, apart from special and extraordinary meetings which occurred as often as occasion required. Later, there were regularly four normal meetings in each Prytany.

The Ecclesia was convoked by a herald instructed by the Proedri on the authority of the President of the Prytans. Subsequently the Strategæ acquired the right to convene it on occasion.

The Proedri and their President stated the purpose for which the particular assembly was convoked, after a solemn prayer for heaven's favour on the people. Any one was then invited to address the meeting from the Bema. When the discussion was ended (it might be prorogued to the following day if sunset came before the question was settled, or if evil omens interfered), the President of the Proedri asked all who supported the motion to hold up their hands, and thereafter all who opposed it. The Proedri decided whether "Ayes" or "Noes" had it, and it was illegal to demand a second division on the same motion. This voting by show of hands was known as *χειροτονία*. Only in the case of motions dealing with personal matters (*e.g.* ostracism) was the ballot employed, in order that it might not be known how any man had voted. The practice of public speaking encouraged rhetoric, and the critical taste of the Athenians led to the study of that art, which was first developed in the cities of Sicily (467-405 B.C.). There grew up a class of men of tried power as orators, who made a profession of haranguing the Ecclesia (*ρήτορες*), and developed into that much-maligned institution the demagogue, the favourite leader of a popular faction.

In the Ecclesia were filled up all the elective offices of the state, including the nine archonships¹ and the posts of Strategæ; here was discussed every *προβούλευμα* of the Senate, and here it was sanctioned or rejected, here began all amendments to the law of the constitution, here war was declared or peace made, here in fine was publicly sifted and adjudged every question of legislation, of policy, of finance, or of the military and civil service. The Ecclesia was omnipotent it appointed, and approved or punished, all magistrates, it regulated the policy upon which they were to act, and furnished or withheld supplies. There was nothing in which the Assembly had no hand save only the power of life and death which rested still with the Areopagus.

Nevertheless its power was checked in a variety of ways. It had, as has been shown, only a very small part in the creation of law (*νόμος*), and even its power of passing *ψηφίσματα* was considerably limited by the proviso that any motion sent to the Ecclesia from the *βουλή* might be arrested for the time, if any one should offer on oath to prosecute its proposer for unconstitutional procedure.[†]

§ 8 In judicial matters, excepting the special cases which went before the archons and the Areopagus, the Ecclesia was supreme in the person of those 6000 of its senior members (over thirty years of age) who formed the *Heliaea*.[‡] It was not until a later time that the famous *Dicasteries* of Periclean Athens came into being, and the system of paying those who acted as jurors (*δικασταί*). For the present the people formed a high court for the trial of all cases in which the state at large was a party, such as those involving charges of riot, treason, and misappropriation of public moneys.

§ 9. This last right was involved in that of publicly

From the time of Cleisthenes' legislation to 487 B.C. After this year they were appointed by lot from 100 (or 500) candidates elected by the ten tribes. At some later period the process of lot was adopted also in the preliminary selection by the tribes.

[†] Such an impeachment was known as a *γραφὴ παρανόμων, γράφεσθαι* being the technical term for "to impeach."

[‡] See p. 113.

auditing the entire conduct of every magistrate in the state, which had been first instituted by Solon and now developed into the most complete system of popular control. At the expiry of each Prytany those magistrates who had to deal with the public moneys sent in their accounts for audit by a board of ten Logistæ (λογισταί) chosen by lot from the senators, at the close of their year of office all magistrates alike appeared before a second board of ten Euthyni (εὐθύναι) chosen in like manner one from each tribe, and assisted by two hundred assessors. This audit (εὐθυνα) must take place within thirty days of the close of the year, and until it was over the person and the property of the magistrate were alike in bond to the state. Should no fault be found and no accuser appear, the magistrate was honourably acquitted, should he be less fortunate, he was summoned before a court of justice in the ordinary course and compelled to plead like any other defendant.

§ 10. The heads of the executive were the nine Archons and the ten Strategi; subordinate to whom were a host of minor boards or single officials.

The Archon Eponymus had the care of most of the great state festivals, and in particular those in honour of Dionysus at which appeared the great Tragic and Comic dramas. He took cognisance of everything involving the security of the young, women, orphans, heiresses, lunacy, the duties of guardians. He was as it were the state guardian of all who had none other.

The King Archon controlled the Eleusinian Mysteries and certain minor religious matters, the Lampadedromia or "Torch-race," the Lenaæa, and the ordinary ritual of the state. In consequence he took cognisance of all charges of impiety, and with the four tribe-kings as his accessors decided whether cases of bloodshed were intentional or otherwise, and sent them up to the proper court for judgment.³

The Archon Polemarchus was commander-in-chief of the army down to 187 B.C. and had a general superintendence of any matters connected with war, down to the performance of certain rights to the divinities of battle. He was further the judge in all civil cases involving the persons of metics and

aliens, to whom he stood in the same relation as did the Aichon Eponymus to the genuine citizens

To the six junior Archons (*θεσμοθέται*) were referred all cases of law involving the public magistrates and the state, and it was for them to send such cases for judgment to the proper court duly furnished with counsel. To them, too, came the great mass of civil cases between one citizen and another, excepting such as were assigned to the three superior archons.

§ 11 The ten Strategi, at first one from each tribe, had command each of such part of the state forces as was raised from his particular tribe, the whole ten being under the general control of the Aichon Polemarchus *. The Strategi were the only magistrates whose election was never entrusted to the lot, for their duties, involving directly the safety of the entire state, demanded men of tried experience and fidelity. Subordinate to them were Taxiarchs to command the infantry, and Phylarchs or Hipparchs to command the cavalry. In later times, when the aichonship was committed to the chance of the lot (487 B.C.), the Strategi grew in importance and authority as the representatives of the worth and wisdom of the state, and gradually usurped many of the prerogatives which had belonged to the archons and other officers.

Of Cleisthenes himself we hear nothing trustworthy after the completion of his Reforms, he is lost sight of in the Republic which he created, and which developed upon the lines laid down by Cleisthenes and Solon, until its zenith was reached about the year 460 B.C. About that year the Areopagus, which still remained to represent the old aristocracy of worth and blood combined, the most conservative element in the state, was finally stripped of authority.

* This was the case down to the year 487 B.C. Afterwards the Polemarch ceased to have anything to do with military operations.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE IONIC REVOLT

- § 1 The Persian Empire under Darius.—§ 2 Attitude towards Greece.—§ 3 The Scythian Expedition.—§ 4 Histiaeus.—§ 5 Affairs of Cyrene.—§ 6 Attack of Aristagoras on Naxos.—§ 7 The Ionic Revolt.—§ 8 Aristagoras in Europe.—§ 9 Progress of the Revolt.—§ 10 Battle of Lade

§ 1. THE death of Gomates and the accession of Darius occurred 521 B.C., but for five years the new monarch was engaged in preventing, crushing, and punishing revolts in all parts of the Empire. Naturally in an empire so extensive, so recently formed, and composed of subject-nations so diverse, there was a constant tendency to disruption. Cyrus had been too busy with further conquests to pay much attention to the organisation of his dominions. Under him, the governors of the various provinces had been little short of independent sovereigns, and the long absence of Cambyses in Egypt had only increased their feelings of independence. Finally the religious revolt of the Magi, and the consequent troubles, seemed to offer an opportunity to ambitious governors or discontented peoples. Darius was able to assert his power in all quarters; but it is as well to notice here the inherent defects of most Oriental despotisms and of the Persian Empire in particular.

Darius was aware of these defects, and at once set himself to minimise them by a new organisation. The Empire was divided into a number of *Satrapies** under the direct control of a *Satrap*, or governor, appointed by the king. If the Satrapy was an armed province, its garrison was placed under the command of a military-governor (also appointed

* The number is uncertain. there were more than twenty.

by the king), who depended upon the Satrap for the maintenance of his forces, but was responsible only to the king. A third officer called the *Secretary* was also a royal nominee, his special duty being to keep the king informed of every action of the civil and military authorities. The whole resulted in an elaborate system of espionage which rendered united action of the three officials almost impossible, and the dangers which arise from the presence of large armed forces at great distances from the capital were met by the building of royal roads to connect every part of the Empire with Susa, the capital. These roads were provided with posting-houses, and a permanent service of mounted messengers* relieving one another by regular stages. A fixed tribute, partly in specie, partly in kind, was laid upon each Satrapy, to levy which was one of the chief duties of the Satrap. The result was general extortion for the benefit of the officials, despite occasional examples of wholesome justice from the throne. For his efforts at reconstruction, Darius won the name of "the Huckster," just as Cambyses received that of "the Soldier," and Cyrus that of "the Father."

§ 2 This *soubriquet* implied the reproach of unwai-like character, for the passion for conquest was not yet exhausted in the Persians. There only remained one new field for aggression, namely Europe, and hither Darius turned his attention when his work of organisation was completed. The Greek cities of the Asiatic coast had gradually passed under his control, for in each a despot had made himself master, and purchased the Great king's support, by a submission which only inconvenienced the populace who found the tribute without affecting the despot himself. From Ionia to the islands was but a step, and they were rapidly annexed. Somewhere about the year 515 B.C. Darius is said to have despatched his Greek physician Dēmocēdes, with a number of Persian assessors, upon a voyage of survey round the coast of Hellas to the southern shores of Italy; but there Dēmocēdes deserted and returned to his home at Crētōn. Greece, however, was the object of Darius' ambition, and

* The Greek rendering of the Persian word is ἀγγαρος.

Greece was assailable only by land for the Persians, having no navy of their own, could command only the vessels of the Phoenicians and Asiatic Greeks, and the latter would hesitate to act against their European brethren, while single-handed the Phoenician navy was inadequate. The only course therefore was to cross the Hellespont, and march overland through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; countries peopled by semi-barbarous tribes whose valour and numbers were such that Herodotus declared them strong enough, if united, to hold their own against any power. Beyond the Ister (*Danube*) lay the Scythians who had once harried Asia (p. 16). Darius determined first to invade Scythia, and thus to avenge the bygone devastation of Asia.

§ 3 In 512 B.C. a vast army was thrown across the Hellespont by a bridge of boats, and invaded Thrace. The resistance of the natives were easily overcome, and a fleet of two hundred vessels contributed by the Asiatic Greeks sailed along the western shore of the Euxine, and so up the Ister (*Danube*), where it effected a junction with the land army, which at once crossed into Scythia (South Russia). For two months Darius followed a people who declined to give battle, and were satisfied to retreat into their treeless steppes. Nothing is known of the line of his march, or how he contrived to provision his army in a desolate region purposely made more desolate by its inhabitants. The Fourth Book of Herodotus contains an account of the expedition, but gives us no satisfactory details. We only know that Darius at last gave up the pursuit and returned, not without great risk and a certain amount of loss, to the spot where he had left his fleet. He found the bridge still intact, and, leaving Megabazus with a large force in Thrace to push westward and open the road into Northern Greece, he returned to Susa. He had gained the credit of having penetrated where no Persian ever went before or after, and of returning in safety; and he so far succeeded in his aims that the Scythians gave him no trouble in his further movements.

§ 4. During the prolonged absence of Darius and his army in Scythia there had been a momentous debate

amongst the Greek captains of the fleet in the Ister. Upon that fleet, and the bridge of boats which it formed, depended the safety alike of the army and its monarch; for if it deserted its post the Persians would find themselves cut off in a hostile and barren country without the possibility of retreat. Miltiades, the Athenian, who had made himself despot of the Thracian Chersonese, and had subsequently joined the expedition like his fellow-despots of Ionia, pointed this out to the fleet. By the destruction of Darius, he said, the Asiatic Greeks would recover their independence; and he therefore urged them to destroy the bridge and sail home. But the fleet belonged to despots, not to free Greeks, and the despots depended upon Persian support for their position. Led by Histiaeus, despot of Miletus, they declined to entertain Miltiades' suggestion, the bridge was maintained and Darius saved. Histiaeus' conduct made him a prime favourite with the king, who gave him permission to establish a colony on the Strymon, at Myrcinus. Here his assumption of independence roused the alarm of Megabazus, who induced the king to summon him to Susa, and retain him in a sort of honourable custody. From Histiaeus' resentment of this confinement arose the great Ionic Revolt.

§ 5 It was somewhere about this time (512 B.C.) that Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, sent a large Persian and Egyptian army against Barca. Arcesilaus III, aided by his mother, Pheretima, had overthrown the democracy at Cyrene* with great cruelty, for which his subsequent assassination at Barca was an act of political vengeance.

* The foundation of this city has been already mentioned. It was ruled by a succession of monarchs, named alternately Battus and Arcesilaus. Its time of greatest prosperity was during the reign of Battus II (c. 575-550), who induced many Greeks from Europe to settle there. The attack of Apries and its result has been given in p. 9. In the reign of Arcesilaus II (c. 550-540) occurred the foundation of Barca by discontented members of the royal family. These latter induced the native tribes to revolt, and Arcesilaus was defeated with the loss of 7000 citizens. His successor, Battus III, the Lame, found the state so distracted that he was obliged to authorise Demonax of Mantinea to amend the constitution. He did so in a democratic direction. The king continued to act as priest, but all political power passed to the people. He was followed on the throne by Arcesilaus III.

Pheretime invoked the vengeance of the Persians, and Aryandes undertook to support her prayer on the pretence that the dead man had made quiet submission to Cambyses. Barca was taken by treachery, and its people treated with such horrible cruelty by Pheretime, that her death, which followed soon after, was regarded as a divine judgment.

§ 6. Megabazus, with 80,000 men, had no difficulty in taking Perinthus and other Greek cities on the northern coast of the Aegean, and reducing all Thrace. He next dealt with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who at first attempted resistance and assassinated the envoys, but subsequently hushed up his treachery by unconditional submission. Towards the close of 502 B.C. the Persians were masters of the entire coast of the Aegean as far as the Peneus and the pass of Tempē, while the capture of Imbros and Lemnos by Otānēs, and the expatriation of the population (Tyrsenes), left them in possession of all the Archipelago as far as the Cyclades.

The worst enemies of the Greeks were themselves. Naxos was the leading island of the Cyclades, famous for its fertility and wealth, and for the skill of its statuaries, but so suffering from the customary factions as to appear an easy prey to foreign attack. Accordingly Aristagoras, who had taken the place of his father-in-law, Histiaeus, as despot of Miletus, albeit himself a Greek, conceived the idea of winning fresh favour from Persia by the reduction of this island. Darius regarded the scheme with approval, and ordered his brother Artaphernes, satrap of Lydia, to support Aristagoras, a fleet of two hundred vessels was raised from the Ionic cities, and Megabates, a nephew of Darius, was named joint commander with Aristagoras. Fortunately for the Naxians, the two commanders quarrelled about a question of discipline, and the Persian, to revenge himself for an insulting speech of his colleague, warned the Naxians of their danger. The result was the complete failure of the expedition.

§ 7. Such a failure meant ruin to Aristagoras: he determined to anticipate disgrace by revolt. Histiaeus, weary of detention at Susa, and hoping to secure his own freedom

by the revolt of his countrymen, urged upon Aristagoras the same step. Miletus was by far the most powerful of the Asiatic Greek cities, and Aristagoras could count upon extensive support amongst neighbouring cities if he offered to expel the Medizing despots, and restore democracy and independence, for the rapid advance of the Persians in Europe and the Islands, and the cruel treatment of Barca, Perinthus and Byzantium, combined with the universal passion for autonomy to alarm the entire Hellenic world. In a secret council of the Milesian nobles, Aristagoras propounded his design: he offered to resign his *tyrannis*, and called upon the Milesians in return to revolt. The opposition of the Logographer Hecataeus, who advised them either to reject the idea entirely, or at any rate to wait until they could collect an efficient navy, was overruled, and at the close of 501 B.C. Miletus led the Ionic Revolt by seizing the persons of all despots who chanced to be on board the fleet just returned from Naxos, declaring herself a democracy, and investing Aristagoras with the normal powers of a republican general. The revolt was, in fact, a crusade of Democracy against Tyranny—rather than of Hellenism against Persia: from end to end of Ionia the despots were expelled or executed, and Darius found himself called upon to reinstate or avenge his *protégés*.

§ 8 Crossing to Greece, Aristagoras now sought the support of Sparta, and was refused. Sparta had little taste for action over seas, especially after her recent reverse at Samos (p. 90), and King Cleomenes, looking at the map which Aristagoras spread before him, declared brusquely that he need expect no Spartan to make war on a monarch who dwelt three months' journey in the interior. Bribery had no result. Aristagoras passed on to Athens.

Ten years of Democracy had done great things for Athens: it had involved her indeed in interminable hostilities with Sparta, with Thebes, and with Aegina; but it had given her the ready service of every free citizen within her walls, had taught each man to regard his own interests as involved in those of his country, and in a word had developed a nationality whose characteristics were independence, enterprise and ambition, and was recognised already as the second

power in Greece. The Constitution of Cleisthenes was now firmly established, and the known jealousy of the aristocratic and Dorian states, who only waited an opportunity to restore Hippias and the despotism of the Peisistratidae, were but additional incentives to unity at home. It was but lately they had refused to purchase Persian goodwill by voluntarily recalling Hippias, and they were well aware that the advance of Persia to Thessaly and the Cyclādes, was an imminent danger to themselves beyond other Greeks. The appeal of their fellow-Ionians in Asia, coincided entirely with the feelings of the Athenians; and they readily voted a fleet of twenty ships—"and these ships were the beginning of the troubles between the Hellenes and the Barbarians." The Eretrians also of Euboea, mindful of assistance given them long ago in the Lelantine war by Miletus, sent five others.

§ 9 Arrived at Miletus, the entire force at once marched inland and burned Sardis, a useless act of spite on the part of Aristagoras, who had no breadth of view, and studied more to vex Darius than to benefit the Greek cause. His forces were roughly handled in their retreat, and the sole result was the adhesion of some smaller Greek towns which had heretofore hesitated. Shortly afterwards the Carian tribes and the towns of the Hellespont joined the revolt, and it finally reached its greatest extent with the revolt of all Cyprus excepting Amāthus.

By this time the Persian forces had taken the field. A combined descent of fleet and army upon Cyprus resulted in a double engagement in which the Greek fleet defeated that of the Phoenicians, while the Persians completely crushed the Grecian land-army, and slew the leader of the revolt, Onēsilus despot of Salamis in Cyprus. Thereupon the Ionians sailed away and Cyprus submitted.

The entire Persian force now closed upon the coast. There was no land force capable of offering resistance, and the various towns fell in detail. In Caria alone was there any better fortune, an entire army being cut to pieces by the rebels, amongst the hills near Pēdāsus. Everywhere there was disorganisation and disaster, and Aristagoras, already deserted by the Athenians and Eretrians, who had

sailed home after the retreat from Sardis, now abandoned the men whom he had compromised, and fled to Myrcinus, where he was soon afterwards slain by the Thracians, 497 B C

§ 10 Darius was not without suspicions that Histiaeus knew something of the revolt, but the solemn asseverations of the latter at length obtained him what he desired; he was sent to Sardis under commission to put down the revolt, flattering the king's ambition by the promise of adding to Persia's dominions even Sardinia "the largest island of the Mediterranean" Artaphernes, however, was not so easily deceived, and told him that "Aristagoras had put on the shoe, but its maker was Histiaeus." The latter saw that his liberty was not yet secure, and in desperation joined the remnant of the rebels, hoping to be appointed commander in Aristagoras' place. Disappointed in this, rejected at Miletus, and ill-treated at Chios, he at last procured eight Lesbian vessels for service in the Hellespont; but instead of assisting the Greeks, he turned pirate, and levied tolls on vessels of all sorts which passed the Hellespont.

In the autumn of 496 B C. the Persians gathered about Miletus which still remained the centre of the revolt, and in the hope of relieving the siege the entire Greek fleet of 353 triremes was collected at Lādē, off the town. The Persians mustered nearly twice that number of vessels, but the disastrous defeat which a few days later ruined the last efforts of the Greeks and threw open the entire coast to Persia, was due more to Greek treachery and jealousies than to Persian prowess. Refusing to listen to the warnings of Dionysius, captain of the Phocaean contingent, the Greeks declined to maintain themselves in readiness for attack, fancying the enemy afraid to approach them. As a result, they were taken by surprise, and the conduct of many of the captains, who deserted at the first attack, goes far to show that Persian intrigue had been at work. A few months later (495 B.C.) Miletus was taken and razed, and she never regained her old prosperity. The fall of the remaining islands (Samos, Chios, Lesbos) and towns was only a question of time. Within another year the last of their number was reduced, and about the same date (494 B.C.)

Histiaeus met with the fate he merited. He was surprised when engaged in a piratical descent near Atarneus, taken captive, and put to death by impalement, too cowardly to die fighting, and the betrayer of all parties in turn—a pattern of a Greek and a despot.

CHAPTER XVII.

CARTHAGE AND SICILY.

§ 1 Phœnician Settlements in Africa — § 2. In Sicily, Spain, Britain — § 3 The Foundation of Carthage — § 4 Natural Advantages of Carthage — § 5. Description of the City — § 6 Conquests — § 7 Army — § 8 Constitution — § 9 Religion — § 10 Literature — § 11 Dimensions of Sicily — § 12. Mountain System — § 13 Rivers — § 14 Native Tribes—Elymi, Sicels, Sicani — § 15 First Greek Colonies — § 16 Later Greek Colonies — § 17 Description of Syracuse. — § 18 Selinus and Himera — § 19. Messina and other Towns — § 20 The Carthaginian Strongholds — § 21 Magna Græcia. — § 22 Arts and Commerce—Romans.

§ 1. It was not until the commencement of the tenth century B.C. that the merchants of Sidon and Tyre, called Phœnicians by the Greeks, began to carry on an active sea-trade in the Aegean. The maritime supremacy enjoyed by Crete during the most vigorous period of the Aegean culture gave way about 1300 B.C. to the sea-power of the Achæans, and this in its turn was overthrown by the coming of the Dorians. The Phœnician traders took full advantage of the opening thus afforded, and from 1000-700 B.C. the commerce of the Aegean was largely in their hands.*

It was during the period of their dominance in the Aegean that the Phœnicians, adventuring further westwards, built many factories and founded many permanent settlements on the coast of North Africa, of Sicily, of Spain, and of Britain. Their first colonies were established on the Mid-African coast, where the great headland that runs out to meet Sicily splits the Mediterranean into two basins. "Here a fertile soil, a docile population, and an

* See Ch. II for an account of the Phœnicians in the Aegean.

abundance of excellent harbours, combined their attractions, and in the space of about three hundred years, from 1100 to 800 B.C., Phoenician colonists occupied all the most eligible of the Mid-African sites"* The earliest of these settlements was Utica, on the Gulf of Tunis. It was followed by Hadrumetum, Hippo Regius, and Leptis Magna.

§ 2. In Sicily the Phoenicians founded trading-stations. Those in the east of the island were planted by old Phoenicia, and their development into permanent settlements was prevented by the Greeks, whose colonies caused the Phoenicians to vanish from this part of the island. In the west of Sicily, the Phoenician factories, founded by the colonies of Hippo Regius and Utica, had been securely established by the time the Greeks came, and developed into permanent and powerful city-states. They included Motye in the extreme west, and Panormus (*Palermo*) and Solus in the north-west. The Phoenician traders also passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and on the coast of Andalusia planted a group of colonies, the chief of which was Gadeira or Gades (*Cádiz*), which collectively made up the district of Tartessus (*Turkish*). Phoenician merchants also founded an emporium in the Scilly Isles (which they named the "Cassiterides" or "Tin Islands") and worked the tin and lead mines in the islands and on the Cornish coast.

§ 3. But the greatest of all the Phoenician settlements, one which was destined to be the centre and rallying-place of the Semites in their long and desperate struggle with the Aryans for the control and commerce of the West, was Carthage. Soon after the submission of Phoenicia to the Assyrian king Asshur-nazir-pal (884-860 B.C.), intestine troubles in Tyre caused the expulsion of a body of citizens who fled to Africa and founded the colony of Kirjath-Hadeschath ("New City") which became in Greek Carchedon, and in Latin Carthago—the Carthage of history.

§ 4. The new colony was situated on the southern shore of the Bay of Tunis, about thirty miles distant from the modern town of Tunis, and a few miles southward of the

* Rawlinson's *Phoenicia*, p. 63.

estuary of the Bagradas (*Mejerda*) In the heart of the most fertile region of the African coast, it was admirably fitted to be the home of the merchant princes who spent in quiet country enjoyments the gains of earlier commercial efforts, while its bay furnishes almost the only safe harbour on the whole coast from Alexandria to the Pillars of Hercules (*Gibraltar*) Eastward the promontory of Heraeum (*Cape Bon*) juts out towards Sicily, from which it is but ninety miles away, and beyond lay the great indentation known to the ancients as the Greater and Lesser Syrtes, or "Drifts," from the shoals and sand-banks which stretched along the coast The coast itself was then, as now, little better than a sandy desert for a distance of 800 miles. After this, the fertile lands of Cyrenaica were reached, continuous with the western boundaries of Egypt In contrast with the desolation of the eastern desert was the wonderful productiveness of the coast westward from Cape Bon. Here it was no uncommon thing for crops to yield one-hundred-and-fifty-fold, and even now the provinces of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco retain something of their ancient luxuriance. But there is no reason to suppose that the founders of Carthage chose the site of the new town only for its fertility. It possessed inestimable advantages as a centre for trade, commanding as it did the whole of the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean, and the resources of continental Africa to boot. The soil was left in the hands of the native Libyans, to whom the Carthaginians even paid a yearly tribute—the rental of their holding, and it was to commerce that the new city was devoted. And the growth of that commerce was marvellous. Three hundred factories stretched round the western shoulder of Africa, and the traders of Carthage penetrated beyond the Canaries to the Cameroons, whence they brought back captive gorillas, ivory and gold, and stories of the fiery Cameroons mountain. Spain, with its mines of silver, iron, and quicksilver, was almost a home to them. They reached even to the Scilly Isles, where they purchased the tin of Cornwall, and to the

* Periplus of Hanno.

Baltic, whence they brought home amber. The products so obtained they wrought into vessels and implements whose design was borrowed from the inventiveness of Greece, of Egypt, and of the East, but whose beauty of workmanship was entirely Phœnician. They were inimitable imitators; insomuch that to the Greeks of Homer's day all that was artistic was Phœnician, for it came to them through the hands and from the forges of the Tyrians and their descendants.

Within a hundred years of the reputed foundation of Carthage, Sicily and Sardinia were regarded as her provinces, together with Malta, and the Lipari and Æolian Isles. With increase of wealth came increase of territory. The tribute was no longer paid to the Libyans, but they were in their turn reduced to the position of serfs who tilled the soil of the immediate vicinity—the home province—for their masters, and occupied the territories beyond as tributary dependencies. The intermarriage of Carthaginians with native Libyans gave rise to a half-breed population called Liby-Phœnicians, who occupied the 300 cities of the home province, but were treated with the same harshness as the pure Africans, and not allowed to fortify their towns. Utica was the one exception to this jealous rule, and there the native Phœnician element was doubtless too prominent to allow any fear of disaffection. From Arac-Phuacem, on the coast of the Great Syrtis, to the Atlantic, the whole region was tributary to Carthage, and so heavy was the tribute, that as much as fifty per cent. of the year's produce was exacted in a time of need, and the town of Leptis, itself a direct colony from Tyre, paid a talent *per diem*.

§ 5 The city of Carthage itself clustered round the citadel, Bosra (Canaanitish, *a fort*), which stood upon rising ground at the extremity of a sort of peninsula formed by two lagoons opening into the Gulf of Tunis. A massive outer wall crossed this peninsula from north to south, while the citadel and the Cothon, or naval harbour at its foot, were surrounded on the landward side by a second wall of immense strength. Forty-five feet in height on

the outer side, and furnished at intervals of 200 feet with lofty towers, the wall was backed by a second and a third line of solid masonry; and the space between, partitioned and divided into two stories, could stable 300 elephants with their stores of forage in the basement, and over these 4,000 horses. Barracks for 20,000 infantry completed this wall, which joined the ring-wall of the Bosra itself. The Cothon was an artificial basin containing docks for 220 ships of war, having in the centre the admiral's island residence. It opened into the mercantile harbour, of still larger dimensions, and this again into the bay. Such fortifications and harbourage so large imply an immense population. What it may have been at the time when the strength of Carthage was unimpaired we cannot say; but at the date of the Third Punic War (146 B.C.), when the intermittent warfare of three and a half centuries had doubtless thinned the ranks of the native Carthaginians, there still remained 700,000 souls within the walls. It was unusual, indeed, for the citizens to serve in war, although special privileges were offered to induce them to do so. Nevertheless, several occasions occur in their history when a large citizen force was levied, and on one such occasion at least (394-5 B.C.) it suffered virtual annihilation. In the year 310 B.C. a force of 40,000 native foot and 3,000 horse and chariots marched out to meet the advance of Agathocles.

§ 6. The Carthaginians, however, were not men of war, but of traffic, like their parents the Phoenicians, and, as has been said, that nation preferred to retire without resistance when they were no longer left in peaceful possession of their trading-stations. But when, after ceding thus tacitly the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean trade to the Greeks, they found that that people were menacing the Phoenician preserves in the west, they were constrained to alter their policy. As will be seen, they did so too late. The first Greek settlers landed in Sicily in 735 B.C., but it was not until a century and a half later that an effort was made by the Carthaginians to oust them from what had now become virtually a Greek island. The statesman to whom was due the new policy

was named Mago, and it was under his guidance that Carthage turned her attention first to the establishment of her supremacy in Africa, *circa* 530 B.C. This done, she entered on aggressive wars in Sardinia and in Sicily. The former island was reduced by Hasdrubal, son of Mago; the Hamilcar who fell at Himera 480 B.C. was a second son. But by this time the rapid development of the Hellenes in Sicily had restricted the Carthaginians to the western corner of the island, where were situated their three great marts of Motye, Solus, and Panormus. Until the close of the First Punic War, 241 B.C., they retained always so much of the island, and at times extended their influence for brief seasons over a much larger area. But to the Greeks they were a hated nation, with whom could be no compromise, and in suffering Hellenic influence to spread unchecked for 150 years, they forfeited their power in Sicily. With the Sicels, on the other hand, they could and did live on good terms, for they cared only to command the coast, while the Sicels had no tendency to maritime pursuits.

§ 7. More fatal to their success than any error of judgment was their system of warfare. The disinclination of the citizens to serve was met by hiring mercenaries who had no interest in the results of the war beyond their stipulated hire, and who might at any moment transfer their services to a higher bidder. Collected from the nomad Labyans, the Laby-Phoenicians, from Spain, Gaul, Etruria, Liguria, and Italy, even from the Hellenes themselves, they formed armies of undoubted fearlessness and of redoubtable numbers. Armies of from 150,000 to 300,000 men were not unusual with the Carthaginians. But they lacked all the moral strength of war—unity of blood and language, attachment to their leader; above all, attachment to the country which they professed to serve. Their very numbers rendered them unmanageable to the run of Carthaginian commanders, who had no talent for war or diplomacy. Levied in the spring, they were disbanded in the autumn; and thus was lost the only means of creating a fictitious patriotism amongst them—permanency of service. Mercenary troops were the weapon

of the Sicilian despots also, but they were a weapon never laid aside—retained and cherished until they learnt to identify their own interests with those of their masters. The Balearic Isles and Spain provided the best slingers the world ever saw, the Ligurians were the ideal of light troops; while the more stalwart Sabellians and Etruscans of Italy furnished an infantry akin to that with which Rome conquered the world. The African tribes supplied a superb light cavalry that was inexhaustible. The Liby-Phoenicians rode into battle in chariots of iron, and behind them followed the elephants, which routed even the Romans in more than one battle. Such a force, supported as it usually was by a flotilla whose very war-vessels were counted by thousands, and whose transports were limitless, was after all of little value. It was little superior to the motley horde of millions that served under the Persian banners—superior only in so far as Western blood is sterner than that of the East.

§ 8 Our knowledge of the constitution of Carthage is very defective, derived as it is from a few short statements of Aristotle and scattered references in Polybius and Livy. Aristotle, who wrote towards the end of the fourth century B.C., says that it was remarkable for its stability, inasmuch as he could find no occasion on which it had been seriously endangered even by attempts of its own members to make themselves despotic rulers. In its earlier form, the government seems to have been in the hands of a council of old men (*γερονσία*), which consisted of two suffetes or kings (who acted as presidents and originally no doubt had possessed regal authority) and twenty-eight ordinary members. It declared war, made peace, and appointed generals, while the suffetes acted usually as its executive, occasionally leading the army in person. The suffetes seem to have held office for life*. The mass of the people had little voice in the government.

But in the nature of things such a constitution could not remain unaltered, particularly in a mercantile state where wealth was every day bringing new men to the front. A

* Cornelius Nepos, however, says *Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine annui bini reges creabantur.*

council of thirty men, holding their position for life, afforded too few prizes for the ambition of a nobility of merchant princes at once rich, powerful, and numerous; the more as the offices of suffete and councillor, and consequently those of general and admiral, had fallen inevitably into the hands of a few families to the exclusion of their fellow-nobles. Accordingly there was formed a second council of one hundred and four "Judges," known roundly as "The Hundred," who controlled the smaller council just as the latter controlled the suffetes. Thus the original council was gradually superseded and its powers transferred to The Hundred, which now exercised an absolutism so complete, that they are compared by Aristotle to the Ephors at Sparta, who controlled in the same way the two kings and the Gerusia. The Hundred were selected by certain boards of five called Pentarchies, and they appear to have held office for life.* With The Hundred rested the audit of the actions of gerusiasts, suffetes, and generals alike; and they seem to have purposely avoided office themselves, content to enjoy the control of others. Thus the constitution of the city was still an oligarchy of the closest kind, although the actual centre of power had shifted to a somewhat larger if not less irresponsible body than the original council. The mass of the people remained as destitute as ever of political rights. In a Greek town the presence of a commercial lower class carried with it the assurance of political disquietude and democratic agitation: it was otherwise with Carthage, whose seafaring multitude retained the old Phoenician indifference to political questions and theoretic freedom.

§ 9. Like most of the old Oriental nations, the Phoenicians tended towards a gloomy and morbid cruelty, and their vindictive treatment of their generals was but the reflection of their religious ceremonies—the "abomination of the Sidonians." Their great deity was Baal, or Bel, the

* *Iudicium ordo Carthagine ea tempestate (195 B.C.) dominabatur eo maxime quod iidem perpetui iudices erant. Res fama vitæque omnium in eorum potestate erat. Qui unum eius ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices deerat.* Upon this Hannibal carried a law that the judges should be elected for one year only.

Moloch of the Bible, God of the Sun His consort was Astarte, or Tanith, Goddess of the Moon, sometimes sur-named Mulitta. The former was the god to whom they sacrificed human victims, usually infants, who were laid in the outstretched hands of an image so constructed that, when a fire was kindled within, their bodies fell backwards into the flames. The state sacrifices in honour of Baal were the chosen children of the noblest families, and when, on the occasion of Agathocles' invasion, it was discovered that the promptings of affection had induced some parents to keep back their own children and offer in their stead the purchased children of baseborn and less humane parents, the pious fraud was condoned by a holocaust of two hundred infants. It was this practice, long ago extinct amongst the Hellenes, which roused so fiercely their detestation for the Phoenicians at large, and it was from this god that so many Carthaginian names derive their termination—*bal*.

Hardly less debasing was the worship of Astarte, the Phoenician Venus. She was the original source of the Greek Aphrodite, with whom the Romans identified their Venus. Closely connected with the cult of Adonai (Adonis), it early found its way into Greece, where Corinth attained an unenviable notoriety for a ritual entirely un-Greek in its impurity. Corinth, indeed, was particularly the centre of Phoenician tradition in Greece, for here was worshipped Melcertes, identical even in name with the Phoenician Melcarth. He was worshipped with no bloody sacrifices, or at least with none of human blood, and his temples contained no image. Tyre was especially his city, and there Herodotus saw its pillars of emerald and gold, but Thasos, too, had a famous temple in his honour, and at Gades, in the far west, Hannibal registered to him vows for the fair issue of his war upon Rome. He was the God of Enterprise, Commerce, and Travel, and was known to the Greeks as the "Tyrian Hercules"—a name which contributed largely to the growth of the legends concerning their own Hercules.

§ 10 Of the literature of Carthage there are no remains. When Rome took the town the whole of the voluminous libraries there found were handed over to the native princes

of Africa, in, whose hands they gradually melted away. One Mago had, however, composed a lengthy treatise on husbandry, which was so excellent, at least in its precepts, that it was translated into Latin by order of the senate, and became a standard book on the subject even for the Romans. What its style may have been there is nothing to show us. There remain also two transcriptions of the records of Carthaginian explorers. The first, the *Periplus* of Hanno, relates how that admiral coasted southward from the Pillars of Hercules, carrying with him a crowd of colonists, whom he planted on the Moorish coasts. Then, sailing still southward, he tells how he saw the Fiery Mountain, supposed to have been the Cameroons Volcano, and the hairy apes, whom he named gorillas. The narrative was inscribed and dedicated in a Carthaginian temple, whence it was copied and translated by an unknown Greek. The other translation, a rendering in Latin verse by Festus Avienus of a similar voyage to the Northern seas, now goes by the name of the *Ora Maritima*. It is only a fragment, but it speaks of the Scilly Isles, and the "Holy Island" (Ireland), and the "broad island" of Albion. Beyond a few inscriptions dug up on the site of Carthage, there is no vestige to-day of what must once have been the language of a varied literature.,

§ 11. We turn now to Sicily, with the intention of describing in fuller detail that colonisation which has already been touched upon in ch. vi.

The island of Sicily, the last remains of the belt of land which once joined Italy to Africa, is a continuation of the mountain chain which descends through the length of Italy under the name of the Apennines. From the centre of the island, just north of the ancient town of Henna, three mountain ranges branch off, each running to one or other of the three capes which form the angles of a rude isosceles triangle. The apex of the triangle is Cape Drepanum in the west, and its base is the rough coast-line on the east between Cape Pelorus, the nearest point to Italy, and Cape Pachynus, the southernmost point of the island. The length of this base-line is

approximately 115 miles, that of the two remaining sides 175 miles each. The total circumference is thus not more than 475 miles, and the area about 10,000 square miles, little more than one-sixth of the united area of England and Wales.

§ 12. The whole of the interior region is ruggedly mountainous, and from the central ridges lesser spurs run down everywhere towards the coast. The eastern ridge, known as the Nebrodes Montes, rises at once from the northern shore, along which it lies for more than half of the entire length of the island. It is then met by the south-eastern ridge, and the area contained within the two is filled up by a labyrinth of precipitous valleys and steep hills, which gradually increase in height until they reach their maximum in the volcanic cone of Aetna, more than 10,000 feet above sea-level. Westward the actual ridge is less marked, but the whole region becomes one broken plateau difficult to traverse, except on foot. The central and southern mountains bore the name of the Heraei Montes.

What small area of plain the island contains lies along the coast, from Cape Passaro to Cape Grantola. At each of these points the mountains advance to the sea, and two lesser ridges intervene to divide the plain into three sections. The central area is that of Agrigentum, eastward of which lies the Plain of Gela and Camarina, and westward that of Selinus. On the east coast the country opens into a smaller plain to the south of Syracuse. The nature of the country may best be understood from the fact that only two railways have been constructed across the interior. One leaving the coast at Catania (*Catana*) runs up to the centre of the island, passes through a valley which marks the juncture of the mountain systems, and, turning to the south, reaches the coast a little east of Girgenti (*Agrigentum*). The other starts from the last-named town, and runs straight across to the northern coast at Termini. In ancient times, too, these formed the only internal routes, the road which skirts the whole coast of the island has always been the chief means of communication.

§ 13. Navigable rivers there are none, owing to the short-

ness of their courses, and of the few streams which deserve the name of rivers most are mere mountain torrents, flooded in times of rain, and dried up during the summer months. The most important stream is the Halycus (*Platana*), which rises in the centre of the island, and flows south-westward to the sea at Heraclea Minoa. Close to its source, but on opposite sides of the watershed, rise two streams, both called Himera. The smaller, falling into the northern sea by the town of the same name, forms, with the Halycus, the long valley through which runs the Gurgenti railway, and thus marks a natural boundary between the eastern and western portion of the island. The larger stream flows southward, and forms the boundary between Agrigentum and Gela. On the east coast the Symaethus, rising from numerous sources in the Nebrodes Montes, curves round the western base of Aetna and debouches between Catana and Leontini; and the Anapus, only worthy of mention as the river of Syracuse, falls into the great harbour, forming pestilent marshes about its mouth. Innumerable smaller streams enter the sea at every part of the coast, but few of them deserve the name of rivers. They serve, however, to impart to the soil that fertility for which it has always been famous. The land still yields wonderful harvests, though ill-cultivated. In older times the plains were the granary of Rome. Figs, olives, grapes, pomegranates, and fruits of every kind, flourished in the lowlands, so that *Geloi Campi*—a plain such as that of Gela—was a proverb for luxuriance. The marshy ground near the streams gave pasture to the finest war-horses, and to racers that could vie with the “mares of Elis.” And higher up in the highland valleys the groves of oranges and citrons flourish to this day upon the rich *débris* of volcanic mud and ashes.

§ 14. When the first Greek settlers landed in Sicily, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., it was occupied by two races, the Sicels and the Sicani. The former extended over the whole of the eastern half of the island as far as Henna; the latter possessed the western portion, with the exception of some half-dozen townships at the extreme

* In Greek Σικελοί, of which *Siculi* is the Latin form.

north-west, where Egesta and Elyx were occupied by a non-descript people called Elymi, who claimed to be descendants of the Trojans, while the Phoenicians possessed three great emporiums at Soloeis, Panoimus,* and Motye. Who the Sicels and Sicani actually were, whence they came, and whether they were really one people, were questions debated even amongst the Greeks. A widespread theory is that the Sicans were related to the Iberians, and thus belong to the stock of which the Basques are still typical. The Sicels, who migrated from Italy, were akin to the Sabellian and Oscan tribe known to the Romans as Lucani, Brutti, Apuli, Campani, or Samnites. They probably supplanted a still older race, akin to the Messapians and Iapygians, who still maintained themselves in the heel of Italy, in Calabria, and whose remnant were the so-called Elymi. At any rate, they were not a commercial people, any more than were their Italian kinsmen, and so they permitted the settlement of the Phoenician traders at many points about the coast besides the great north-western marts, as, for example, at Megara Hyblaea and Ortygia on the east, Macara (afterwards Heraclea Minoa) on the southern shore. They confined themselves to agriculture, the produce of which they bartered with the Phoenicians; and their religion was the worship of nature-powers personifying the mighty volcanic forces which shook the island. Their chief god was Adranus, whose sanctuary was Adranum, at the western foot of Aetna, their great goddess Hybla gave her name to a number of townships, and to their own chieftains †. Other deities, called Palici, had their shrine amongst the Ileracan hills; and most of the strong positions in which the highlands of the interior abound were crowned by Sicel and Sican fortresses. Such were Abacaenum, in the north-east, Inessa, Centuipa, Morgantina, and Palica, in the east and south; Agyrum, Assorus, and Iienna, in the central region.

* In Latin Soloeis becomes Solus. Panoimus is the modern Palermo, now the most important town in Sicily.

† Hyblaea Gelaetis, Hyblaea Ileraca, Megara Hyblaea, and the surname Hyblon.

§ 15 Reports of the wonderful fertility of the island and the western shores of the Mediterranean reached Greece at a time when the older cities were rapidly rising in wealth and numbers, and seeking for new land in which to plant their surplus population. Already before the eighth century B.C., the Acolians of Asia Minor had sailed into the far west, and the colony of Cumae, on the coast of Campania, was of an immemorial antiquity. One Colaeus, a Samian merchant, driven by storms out of his course, had been carried even to the Spanish Tartessus, where he realised such enormous profits from his cargo as to inflame the cupidity of all mercantile Greeks. In the year 735 B.C., the first colony was planted in Sicily by Theocles, who led a band of settlers from the Euboean Chalcis and from Naxos, one of the most powerful of the Cyclades. He named his colony Naxos, after that island. In the next year, Archias of Corinth, one of the Bacchiadae, the leading oligarchic family of that city, founded Syracuse (734 B.C.), driving out the Sicels, and perhaps the Phoenicians, too, from Oitygia, the small islet which formed his first settlement. Three years later the Naxians, under Theocles, colonised Leontini and Catana. About 730 B.C., arrived Lamas, from Megara, and, assisted by the Syracusans and Naxians, established himself at Trotilus, not far from Leontini. But the Sicels, grown jealous of the new-comers, drove them from that settlement, and even from a second position at Thapsus, a few miles north of Syracuse. Finally their chief, Hyblon, came to terms with the invaders, and allowed them to found a new Megara, surnamed Hyblaea, on the bay between Thapsus and Leontini, 728 B.C.

§ 16. A pause followed in the tide of immigration, during which the Hellenes perhaps waited to see the result of these first experiments. The rapid growth of the new colonies soon proved the feasibility of fresh attempts, and in 690 B.C. a body of Rhodians and Cretans founded Lindi, on the mouth of the little river Gela, in the most fertile region of all Sicily. The name was afterwards changed to Gela, and the town became the rival of Syracuse. The latter town was in a few years able to send

out, on its own account, colonists who occupied Acrae 664 B.C., and Casmenae, 644 B.C. Its neighbour, Megara Hyblaea, was strong enough in another fifteen years to send out settlers to Selinus, on the very borders of Motye, 628 B.C., and in 592 B.C. the Syracusans founded a third colony at Camarina. In 582 B.C. the Geloans set the foundations of Agrigentum, whose magnificence was soon to eclipse even that of Syracuse. The date of the colonisation of Zancle (*Messana*) is uncertain, but probably comes about 720 B.C., when a band of Phocaeen pirates seized it, and sent out thence, about 648 B.C., the colonists who occupied Himera.

Such was the map of Sicily about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Within two hundred years the island had virtually passed from the hands of the Phoenicians to those of the Greeks. It was not the habit of the Phoenicians to build cities where they came. They were content to have harbourage and a market only. Hence the ease with which the Greeks supplanted them, the more as Carthage did not as yet see the need of constituting herself the champion of the Phoenician race. Decisive action might have prevented for ever the Hellenising of the island, but the opportunity was lost, and when at last she saw fit to dispute by force of arms the possession of what she had lost, Carthage found her rivals securely settled in walled cities, numerous, wealthy, and, moreover, little afraid of a nation which had so readily yielded to their stealthy inroads.

§ 17. It remains to speak in detail of the principal Grecian cities, for the history of Sicily is little more than the history of a very few Hellenic towns, and of none have we anything like a continuous history save Syracuse. That colony was planted originally on the islet of Ortygia ("Quail Island"), which forms the northern horn of the bay, afterwards known as the Great Harbour. The opposite horn is formed by the promontory of Plemmyrium, and the river Anapus, falling into the Great Harbour, makes marshes and pools about its inner shores. Inland lies the small plain of Syracuse, through which flow the streams of the Cacypanis, Abolla, and Helorus;

and the coast road from Ortygia to the south, crossing this plain, was called, from the last-named river, the Helorine Way. The mountains, within whose curving line the plain is enclosed, reach almost to the sea on the northern side of the Anapus, sloping gradually down from the height called Euryalus to the flat ground immediately adjoining Ortygia. The slope, known as Epipolae, breaks off on the north and south in steep scarps, and the level ground below was the site of the actual city of Syracuse when Ortygia had become too small for its growing population. In the times of Gelo it extended so much as to cover the whole seaward portion of the headland lying between the harbour and the Bay of Thapsus. This was the region known as Achradina. Later it comprised two additional suburbs, Tyche on the northern angle, Neapolis at the southern corner towards the Helorine Way. Finally, when at her greatest size and power under Dionysius I., Syracuse spread even to the Epipolae, which was enclosed, like the other regions of the city, in a continuous wall. Between the southern wall of Achradina and the islet lay an open space given up to tombs and called the Necropolis, and the narrow isthmus which joined Ortygia to the mainland formed the inner side of the Little Harbour (*Laccus*).

By nature the site of Syracuse was made to be that of the greatest city of Sicily. Protected by sea and marsh and mountains, it became, by the addition of walls, a place of immense strength, while Ortygia was a fortress absolutely impregnable to assault. It commanded the whole situation from the seaward side, harbours and streets alike, and the fortress of Euryalus, on the brow of Epipolae, on the other side, was scarcely less difficult to assail, and equally commanding in its position. Of the other cities we have no such accurate topographical knowledge. Agrigentum was situated in a strong position by the shore, Gela on a less formidable site. Both derived their power and wealth from their admirable harbourage—that of Agrigentum being the better roadstead of the two—and from their command of the lowlands about them. The Greeks knew it as Acragas, “The

Rocky," and its site is still occupied by the small town of Girgenti. Gela is now Terra Nuova; and both have lost all their magnificence, and even the healthiness which must once have been theirs has disappeared with the decrease of cultivation. Syracuse, on the other hand, is still renowned for its climate and salubrity.

§ 18. Selinus and Himeia, the one on the southern, the other on the northern shore, stood as the bulwarks of Grecian Sicily against the Carthaginians and Elymi. The latter is the modern village of Bonformello, the former a heap of unhealthy ruins still retaining the name of Selinunte. It stood on a narrow strip of land between the streams of the Hypsas on the east and the Selinus on the west, the upper waters of which rise near those of the famous Cumesus. Selinus, despite its late foundation, surpassed in magnificence most, if not all, of the Sicilian cities of its time, if one may judge from the ruins still remaining, and flourished long after its metropolis had utterly disappeared. The prosperity was doubtless due to the trade with the neighbouring Carthaginians, which fell naturally into the hands of the nearest city. To such a degree was this the case, that Selinus was regarded as half Carthaginian, and was chosen as a home by exiles banished from Carthage herself.

§ 19. Messina, commanding the straits of the same name, survives as Messina, still an important town. Its original name was Zancle—"The Sickle"—from the curved form of the bay on which it stood. Opposite to it lay Rhegium—"The Rift"—whose name commemorated the volcanic convulsion which had riven Sicily from the mainland of Italy. The two cities were deadly foes, though both Ionic in their origin, owing to their jealousy of the trade which each wished to monopolise. This town, with Leontini (*Lentini*), Catana (*Catania*), and Naxos (afterwards Tauromenium, now *Taormina*), and Himeia, formed the only Ionic cities of importance in Sicily, all others being essentially Doric, there were no Aeolian or Achæan colonies in the island. Thermae (*Termina*) and Cephaloedium (*Cefalu*) were smaller offshoots of Himera, respectively a little to the westward and eastward of that

town; Acrae and Casmenae were military outposts of Syracuse against the Sicels of the interior and the Greeks of the south-west coast respectively. Their modern names are Aciemonte and Spaccoforno. Casmenae and Camarina (*Camarana*) alike commanded the coast-road, which accounts for the early importance of the latter town and for the endless struggles between its more powerful neighbours for its possession. There were few Greek settlers in the interior, but Morgantia (now *Monte-Judica*), thirty miles west of Catana, and Henna (*Castro Giovanni*) were gradually occupied by Hellenes until they lost their native Sicel character, and the same applies in the time of Dionysius' dynasty to many other Sicel towns. Tyndaris (*Tyndare*), a few miles west of Messana, was founded by the elder Dionysius 396 B.C., and became a town of some importance.

§ 20. It will be noticed that all the chief Hellenic colonies were situate on the eastern or southern shores of the island. The absence of plains near the coast debarred the early settlers from frequenting the northern shore, and when in later days they made attempts to settle there, they were usually prevented by the hostility of the native tribes. But in the north-west and west the three great Phœnician marts maintained a long prosperity, only interrupted in the case of Motye. That town, situated at the point of Sicily nearest to Africa, was built on an island somewhat similar to Ortygia, and was made a position of immense strength by artificial means. After its capture by Dionysius I, 397 B.C., it gradually sank in importance, and its place was taken by Lilybaeum, a mile or so further south, whose harbour was at once the safest in Sicily and the most difficult of access, owing to the shoals and sandbanks at its mouth. It was famous in later times for its resistance to the Romans, but nothing is now left of it, and its site is marked by the small town of Marsala. Panormus and Drepanum, a lesser mart, still remain as Palermo, now the mart of Sicily *par excellence*, and Trapani. Solus, least of the three Phœnician settlements, a few miles west of Thermae and Himera, early sank into decay.

§ 21. The same stream of colonisation which planted the Greeks in Sicily also fringed the shores of Southern Italy with Grecian towns, whose power and influence soon ousted the original inhabitants, and so far surpassed in importance Hellas proper, as to win for that region the name of Magna Graecia. Its limits were Tarentum on the east, and Posidonia (Paestum) on the west, though this does not include the few Greek cities of Campania—Cumae, Neapolis, and Dicaearchia or Puteoli. Here, too, the Achaean element was largely preponderant, but the Dorians, and the Aeolians, unrepresented in Sicily, had also considerable influence about the Gulf of Tarentum. The principal colonies of the Dorians were Tarentum, founded 707 B.C., by the Spartans who displaced the original founders of the town, the Partheniae. A legend connecting the Partheniae with Sparta has already been referred to. The Ionians colonised Suis and Elea. Locri Epizephyrum was a colony of Aeolian outlaws, founded about 683 B.C., and famous afterwards as the ally of the Dionysian dynasty in Italy. The Achaeans, however, occupied both the most numerous and the most advantageous sites. Sybaris (720 B.C.) and Crotona (710 B.C.), with their colonies Caulonia and Scylacium, Metapontum, Hipponium, Laus, Posidonium, and Thurii, were all colonies from Achaea. Sybaris, proverbial for its luxurious effeminacy, was rased by Crotona two hundred years after the foundation of the latter city. Posidonium still testifies by its ruins to the wealth and magnificence of its populace. The remnant of the Sybarites, assisted by colonists from all Greece, founded Thurii, near the ancient site of Sybaris, 443 B.C. Many Athenians joined in the enterprise, amongst them the historian Herodotus and the orator Lysias, and the town soon became the most important of the Lucanian Peninsula.

§ 22. The Sicilians maintained the traditions of their forefathers in their architecture, sculpture, and literature. The ruins of Selinus are those of three enormous temples, whose sculptured metopes bear the closest relation to the early work of the school which flourished in Aegina before the days of Athenian pre-eminence, the emulation of Syra-

cuse, Gela, Agrigentum, and even of Camarina, brought from Olympia, and other national festivals, many a trophy, and the literature of the island can boast the perfection of comedy prior to the Athenians, the perfection of rhetoric before that became a recognised branch of study in Athens. For all this, Sicilian Hellenism was peculiar in many ways. Its constant intercourse with Africa and Italy brought into use many words which are unknown to Eastern Greece, and, on the other hand, the Graecisms which occur in Latin are mostly due to the influence of Sicily*. The coinage of Syracuse and Rome was adapted to one common standard alien to Greece proper. The wide sea which lay between Greece and Sicily—wide to the navigators of those days, who deemed a straight course from Coreya to Syracuse a venturesome thing—necessitated some differentiation between the two countries. And this was extended by the commerce of Sicily, which lay mainly in the western waters. They traded to Ostia, the port of Rome, for unwrought copper, to Etruria for wrought metals, to Africa and the Carthaginian ports to exchange their corn, wine, and oil for the linen and purple and wrought fabrics of the Phoenicians.

Of all this manifold activity and wonderful prosperity, a prosperity whose vitality defied the oppressions of despotism and the sword of Carthage, little remains. At Selinus there still stands, or stood, one column of the temple of Posidon and the Tyndaridae; at Agrigentum are the ruins of aqueducts and of the great temple of Zeus Atabyrius, which Phalaris commenced, and which was not finished until after the days of Thero. At Syracuse may still be seen some columns of the Olympieum by the Anapus, the theatre, aqueducts and conduits, and the quarries in which perished the remnant of Nicias' armament. But most of the remains are either purely or in part Roman, and the Sicily of the Greeks is recorded only in the pages of historians and poets.

* *H.g.*, Aesculapius, Latona, machina; nummus, litra, hemina.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ART AND LITERATURE.

- § 1 Architecture — § 2 The Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Styles —
§ 3 Statuary and Metal-Working — § 4. Fresco Painting Vase
Painting — § 5. Early Religious Poetry — § 6. The Epic Poems. —
§ 7 Beast Fables — § 8 Hesiod — § 9 Lyric Poetry — § 10 Tyr-
taeus, Terpander, Mimnermus — § 11 Alcaeus and Sappho —
§ 12 Solon, Theognis — § 13 Stesichoros, Pindar — § 14 The
Drama. — § 15 Prose Writing

§ 1. THE oldest architectural remains in Greece are those of the strongholds built during the Mycenaean civilisation, most of them before the coming of the Aryan-speaking people. The fortress of Tiryns was built in the so-called Cyclopean style, i.e. of massive undressed blocks of stone, the interstices being filled in with a mortar of clay. The fortress of Mycenae was built partly in the Cyclopean, partly in a later style, in which the stone was carefully cut into rectangular blocks. A third style, in which the blocks are polygonal, is found in the western wall of the Acropolis of Mycenae. Walls built in these styles are found everywhere in Greece and Asia Minor. The Pelasgian fortress on the Acropolis at Athens, and the cities of Troy on Hissarlik were constructed in one or other of these three styles.

The use of the arch was not yet known. The "bee-hive" tombs found at Mycenae, Orchomenus, and other places are so called because they have a vaulted room formed by the gradual overlapping of successive tiers of stone.

The palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae and the houses of the sixth city of Troy (Homer's city), were all built on the same plan. The courtyard (*αὐλή*) had an altar in the middle, and was surrounded by porticoes (*αἶθουσαι*). The

portico opposite to the entrance gate led into the ante-chamber (*πρόδομος*), and from the ante-chamber a curtained doorway led into the great hall (*μέγαρον*), in the centre of which was the round hearth (*ἑσχάρα*). The fact that Greek temples in the historic period were built upon the same plan as the hall and portico of these palaces is confirmatory of the view that, in spite of the Dorian invasion, the civilisation of classical Greece was continuous with that of the Aegean or Mycenaean period.

The earliest temples of Greece were built of wood, the roof being formed of unhewn tree-trunks laid side by side and supported at both ends by an architrave beam stretching from one pillar to another. As art developed stone was substituted for wood. During the period of the tyranny at Corinth (655-585) Corinthian architects invented roof-tiles, and in consequence of this invention the flat roof was replaced by a sloping one, thus in either gable a triangular space or pediment was left, which was adorned with sculptures. The most elaborate temples show a double row of columns surrounding the whole, while the actual shrine (*ναός*, *cella*) has grown from a single room to two or three. To the last, however, the original idea of the wooden hut was preserved; and in the Dorian style the triglyph (*τρίγλυφος*) or three-grooved tablet placed at equal distances along the frieze, represented the end of the original wooden beam.

§ 2. It was the form and proportions of the pillar which determined in historic times to which of the three styles of architecture, Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian, a building belonged. In one of the bee-hive tombs found at Mycenae the doorway was framed by two fluted alabaster columns, from this Mycenaean column the Doric column is derived, another evidence of the continuous development of Greek architecture. The Doric pillar of historic times is fluted; it has no base, an undecorated capital, and a square abacus supporting a plain architrave. The Ionic pillar is fluted but more slender than the Doric; the capital is adorned with four spiral scrolls, called volutes, resembling curling ram's horns. The Corinthian style exhibits a highly ornate foliated capital, said to have been suggested by the

sight of an acanthus plant enwrapping a basket. In the Doric frieze the space between the triglyphs (called metopes) was generally adorned with sculpture.

The most famous temples built before 500 B.C. were that Hera at Samos (the Heraeum) and that of Artemis at Ephesus. The Hecatompedon or temple of Athena Polias situated on the Acropolis at Athens, south of the Erechtheum, was either built or at any rate greatly improved by Peisistratus. All these temples belonged to the Doric style.

§ 3. "The primitive memorial erected in honour of a god did not even pretend to be an image, but was often nothing more than a pillar, a board, a shapeless stone, a post, etc., fixed so as to mark and consecrate the locality. Sometimes there was a real statue, though of the rudest character, carved in wood. Gradually the wish grew up to change the material, as well as to correct the rudeness, of such primitive idols."*

To the wooden statues succeeded a style of work in which the wood was overlaid with metal, and then hammered into the required form. A statue of this kind was called σφυρήλατος (hammer-wrought). The use of mere wood never dropped out till that of stone was well established, and the early stone work shows evident traces of the influence of wood-carving. Among the first marble statues were those made at Cete about 580 B.C. The art of statuary spread from Crete to Laconia, Aegina, Corinth, Sicily. It received a great impulse when the fashion of dedicating a winner's statue at Olympia was established (568-548 B.C.). It was in the statues of these victors that "genuine ideas of beauty were first aimed at and in part attained, from whence they passed afterwards to the statues of the gods."† Before the Persian Wars (490 B.C.) Athens and Aegina were the great rival centres of sculpture.

The Greeks are said to have learnt the art of welding iron and casting copper or brass from the Phoenicians. But the arts of metal-working and inlaying were certainly

* Grote, *History of Greece*, Vol. III, p. 320.

† Grote, *l.c.*, p. 321.

known to artists of the Aegean civilisation, long before the influence of the Phoenicians began. At Vaphio (Amyclae) two golden cups have been found "on which a metal-worker of matchless skill has wrought vivid scenes of the snaring and capturing of wild bulls."* Inlaid dagger-blades of splendid workmanship and the fragment of a silver beaker with a siege-scene wrought in relief on it have been found in the rock-tombs at Mycenae.

§ 4 Fresco-paintings (*i.e.* wall-paintings painted on the plaster of walls while it is still wet) adorned the walls of the palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Cnossus in Crete (the Labyrinth of Minos). Most of the patterns are decorative, consisting of spirals, rosettes, etc. At Tiryns has been found a gypsum or alabaster frieze; the slabs are adorned with rosettes and spirals, and the middle of the rosettes and spirals are inlaid with a blue-glass paste (κύωνος). A similar design has been found in relief on the ceiling of a "bee-hive" tomb at Orchomenus.

In vase-painting there is a continuous development from the beginnings of the Mycenaean culture to the classical period. Painted designs of a rude kind are found among the vases unearthed at Santorin (Proto-Mycenaean period, 2000-1700 B.C.). The pottery of the earlier Mycenaean age is unglazed, and ornamented with lines and spirals. To this succeeds pottery on which designs of marine animals, seaweed, and shells are laid on with lustrous glaze or varnish. When the Mycenaean culture during its period of decadence survived only in Asia Minor this style of vase-painting was greatly influenced and modified by Oriental styles. Meanwhile the Dorians had brought into Greece a new style of pottery, called the Geometrical style, distinguished by patterns composed of lines probably suggested by woven fabrics. The greater number of the vases of the geometrical style have been found near the Dipylon gate at Athens; these are called Dipylon vases, and belong to 900-700 B.C. From Asia the geometrical style was influenced by the decadent Mycenaean style (modified by Oriental influence). Hence arose various mixed styles, such as the "Phaleric" in

* Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 25.

Attica, and the "Proto-Corinthian", in the latter the Oriental influence was very marked. From these styles developed the graceful and artistic pottery of classical Greece, which reached its culmination in the black-figured vases of the age of Peisistratus, and the later red-figured style

§ 5. The earliest poetry amongst the Greek peoples was undoubtedly Lyrical, that is, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of music, and it is equally certain that it was religious in its character. To the latest times were preserved some short hymns bearing the names of Orpheus and Musaeus, the great traditional masters of this style, and as early as Peisistratus' time we hear of one Onomacritus being convicted of forging so-called Orphic hymns and abusing the respect which their religious character commanded. They were said to be of Thracian origin

§ 6 Subsequently arose the hexameter metre, intended for longer and sustained narratives. On the one hand it developed into the Epic style, on the other into the Didactic poems of Hesiod and his followers. Of the epics of Homer and the Trojan Cycle we have spoken already, and we need only remark here that, whatever the date or authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is quite certain that there were a multitude of earlier songs, shorter and less finished, dealing in a similar Epic way with the adventures of a number of local heroes. The Epic of Homer's day was the outcome of many years of practice and many generations of Folk-song

§ 7 The Beast-fables of Aesop represent another primitive form of literature. As we have them they belong to a much later date, originally they were doubtless in verse of a rough kind. Nothing is known of Aesop, who may or may not have been a real person. he is said to have been an Egyptian or a Phrygian; at any rate he was not a Greek of Europe. Of uncertain date came Babrius, who gave to this kind of writing a more polished and literary form. He probably lived in the time of Augustus (first century A.D.)

§ 8 Boeotia had an early fame as the home of poetry. In Boeotia was Mount Helicon, the home of the Muses, and

there too, at Thebes, the Dionysiac worship was most firmly and soonest established. The first name is that of Hesiod of Ascra, whose date is placed at the same time as that of Homer (c. 850 B.C.). His poetry represents both the Didactic development of the hexameter, and the reaction from the exaggeration of Epic style to the realities of everyday life. Didactic poetry, so-called because it conveys instruction (*διδάσκειν*) in verse, also named Gnostic or the Poetry of Proverbial Wisdom (*γνώμαι*), commenced with the *Theogony* of Hesiod, which was a quasi-historical construction of the whole assemblage of the Greek Olympus, their attributes and relationships. It includes the story of the Battle of the Gods and the Giants, and in fact embraces the greater part of Hellenic mythology. The *Works and Days* (*Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*) is a Didactic poem of a less lofty type: it describes the seasons of the year from an agricultural point of view, with the duties appropriate to each, and the signs of the weather, and it gives a very fair picture of the rural life of the times. From it we gather most of our information about the poet. A third work, the *Shield of Heracles*, is of doubtful genuineness. It is concerned mainly with a description of the shield, similar to that given in Homer of the shield made for Achilles by Hephaestus. There were further a *Catalogue* (three books) or list of Heroes and their doings, "a sort of Greek Peerage"; the *Boeae* (two books), a further list of heroines, and the *Marriage of Ceyx*, all of very dubious authorship. Of Hesiod himself we gather that he was a small farmer of Ascra, whose father had once emigrated to Acolis and had subsequently returned to Boeotia. The poet's brother had contrived to defraud him of his due inheritance, and much of the *Works and Days* is filled with complaints of man's wickedness, the evils of the iron age, and the corruption of justice. Hesiod is said to have defeated Homer in a rhapsodic contest at Chalcis in Euboea, to have been murdered at Oenoe, and to have been buried there in the grove of Nemea.

§ 9. Far more important is the later Lyric poetry, of which a considerable mass has been preserved. It differs from the older and lost Lyric style in being realistic and

personal; and it found its greatest development in Ionia and the adjacent islands, and in Boeotia. It is known also as Melic poetry. Its metres and subjects are exceedingly varied, but love, war, and wine, form the three chief matters, and many of the most charming ideas in ancient and modern poetry are to be found here in their original form.

It was at this date that Elegiac poetry was introduced, the alternation of a hexameter and pentameter verse. The name is supposed to be of Asiatic origin (*ἔλεγος*), and the peculiar character of the style lies in its plaintive and mournful tone. Dirges (*Threni*) had been, and continued to be, written in other Lyrical metres, but henceforth the metre *par excellence* for all effusions of grief was the Elegiac. Its first master was Simonides of Amorgos, a Samian colonist, about 660 B.C., who improved upon it as it came from his predecessors, Archilochus of Paros, and Callinus of Ephesus (720 B.C.), the alleged inventor. Little is known of either. Archilochus was a well-born adventurer, who may have wandered as far as Italy, and ultimately settled at Thasos. His fame rests on his first turning the Iambic metre to purposes of satire, when rejected by Neobule, daughter of Lycambes. The vigour of his satire is said to have driven Lycambes to suicide. Both he and Callinus also wrote war-marches, a style of poetry afterwards developed by Tyrtaeus and Teipander at Sparta. He wrote also some *Hymns* like those of Homer.

§ 10 Tyrtaeus is said to have been a lame schoolmaster of Aphidnae in Attica. When, in the Second Messenian War, things went hard with the Spartans, they were ordered to borrow a Lyric poet from elsewhere, in order to encourage their men with martial strains. They applied to Athens, who, in disdain, sent them Tyrtaeus. He fulfilled his purpose, however, and by his aid the Spartans prevailed. There are considerable remains of his songs, all Elegiac, and all of a stirring and exciting style. From this time dates the regular cultivation of Lyric poetry in Sparta as part of the state policy.

Hence sprang the true Melic poetry, choral odes sung by many voices to the accompaniment of the lyre or flute, and

intended for public performance. The older style of *personal* poetry disappears. In place of Elegy and Iambic, we have odes in various metres distinguished as *Paeans* in praise of Apollo, *Dithyrambs* in praise of Dionysus, *Prosodia*, or processional hymns. When accompanied by lively dances, the ode became an *Hyporchema*, when sung by girl-voices it was a *Parthenon*. Later, this style reverted to a quasi-personal form, and was divided into *Epimelia*, celebrating victories at the Olympic and other games, *Encomia*, or eulogies, and *Threni*, or dirges.

Terpander of Lesbos was invited, like Tyrtaeus, to Sparta about 670 B.C. and there established the Festival of the Carneia with its choric songs and dances.

Very little is known of him, or of his successor, Alcman, a Lydian Greek of Sardis, who came to Sparta as a slave. The latter left six books of odes of various kinds, including a famous hymn to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux). He flourished about 650-620 B.C. He was regarded as the inventor of Erotics or Love-poetry.

His first imitator was Mimnermus of Colophon, whose book of love poems, *Nanno*, took its name from the object of his love, a Phrygian flute-girl. He flourished about 630-600 B.C.

§ 11 More famous were the two great Lesbian Melists, Alcaeus and Sappho, who were contemporaries and friends (c. 600 B.C.). Alcaeus was a noble of Mitylene, and after successfully overthrowing several despots of his city, he was in his turn defeated and exiled with most of his party, while Pittacus, one of the seven wise men, became Aesymnete (Dictator) of the city. He was with the Mitylenaeans, the force which was defeated by the Athenians at Sigeum, and he was not ashamed to tell in his poems how he threw away his shield in the flight. Sappho, daughter of Scamnon, was also well-born. Her love-songs addressed to Phaon made her famous throughout Greece, and collected about her a circle of women who formed a sort of school of poetry, most celebrated of whom was Erinna, an Aeolian. Sappho was said to have committed suicide by throwing herself into the sea from the promontory of Leucas, and she is also said to have been at one time an exile in Sicily. Both she and

Alcaeus have left many fragments, and each of them gave its name to a peculiar form of lyric stanza afterwards adopted so largely by Horace.

§ 12. The poetry of Solon and Theognis is different in tone. Both wrote mainly in elegiacs, and both abound in *gnomes*; but both used their verses for political purposes. It has been related how Solon secured the conquest of Salamis by one of his poems: others were collected under the name of *Meditations*. Theognis was an oligarch of Megara, who was exiled in the political troubles in that state (c 550 B C). Fourteen hundred lines of elegiacs are preserved under his name, and in him we meet for the first time the distinction of the political world into the Honest or Good (*i.e.* the nobles), and the Bad (or *demos*).

Hipponax of Ephesus was a bitter satirist (about 530 B C) and a very poor poet, but he is accounted the third Iambic poet of Greece. On the other hand, Anacreon of Teos was one of the most famous of all the Lyrists. He joined the colony founded at Abdera by Teos, when Harnpagus conquered Ionia for Cyrus, and he subsequently passed his days at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens. His songs are almost all of the pleasures of love and wine, but they were of such marked excellence as to lead to countless imitations: the genuine and false Anacreontics are alike amongst the most graceful and most modern of Greek lyrics.

§ 13. Stesichorus of Himera in Sicily was the forerunner of Pindar, and was characterised by the Epic nature of his Lyrics, especially in subject. He left no less than twenty-six books of poems, of which very little remains. He was imitated by Ibycus of Rhegium in Italy, of whom was told the legend that, having been murdered at Corinth, his murderers were betrayed in the theatre there by a flight of cranes. Both these poets lived prior to 550 B C.

The fame of this style of poetry rests however upon Simonides of Ceos, and Pindar, both of whom lived far into the fifth century B C. Simonides (556-469 B C) made himself famous in poems about the Persian Wars, and thenceafter he became the envied guest of the despotic houses of Thessaly and Syracuse, whose glories and Olympic victories

he celebrated as the price of his entertainment. His fame was eclipsed by Pindar, of Cynoscephalae in Boeotia (521-441 B.C.), who lived long at the court of Hiero in Syracuse and also at that of the Battadae of Cyrene. Both he and Simonides belong however to a later period of history.

§ 14. The same is true of the great Dramatic poets, for the Drama was not developed in Greece until about 490 B.C. Its rise must be briefly stated. The old Dithyramb in honour of Dionysus had been introduced into Attica by Lasus of Hermione, and it was popular also about the Isthmus at Corinth, where it had been perfected by Arion, and at Sicily. It consisted of a small recitative, interspersed with choral songs and dances. Gradually the Coryphaeus,* who undertook the recitative, came to exchange dialogue with the chorus: a second actor was added with fuller liberty of dialogue, and when the old recitative took the form of a complete plot, Tragedy was complete. The institution of the second actor is assigned variously to Epigenes of Sicily, and to Thespis of Attica (532 B.C.). Certainly it was in Athens that Tragedy flourished most, and indeed alone, and here there were annual dramatic performances at the festivals of Dionysus, viz., the great Dionysia (March), the Lenaea (January), and the Smaller Dionysia (December).

Popular as the new development was, it was nevertheless too serious to please the common people, who required something less dignified. This was found in the Satyric Drama—a kind of comico-tragic play in which the chorus represented Satyrs—and in Comedy proper, which arose exactly as did Tragedy, but confined itself to the doings of men rather than of the gods, in fact, it was in the Drama what the personal Iambics of Archilochus were in Lyrics. It developed however, naturally, at a date later than that of Tragedy, and it borrowed perhaps much of its form as it appeared in Attica from the Mimes of Epicharmus, a Sicilian poet of the latter part of the sixth century B.C. These were nothing but low-class pantomimes intended only for vulgar audiences, and relying more upon gesture than language for their effect. They are said nevertheless to have materially influenced

* The leader or spokesman of the Chorus.

the Tragic dialogue of Aeschylus, the first of the great Tragedians

§ 15 Of prose writing in early Greece there is little. It grows up always subsequently to poetry, and at a time when there is a "reading-public," *i.e.* when thought and culture are widely spread. The rise of philosophy in Ionia in the sixth century necessitated the birth of the prose-style, but beyond *Logopoi* or Anecdotalists there was no prose before that of Hecataeus (and he is later than this period), unless that of Heraclitus be admitted. He flourished about 513 B.C. at Ephesus, and was famous only for his obscurity. He was one of the last of the Ionian School of Physicists, *i.e.* philosophers who concern themselves with the problems of matter. Thales of Miletus (636-546 B.C.) was the first, postulating water as the prime cause of all things. He was succeeded by Anaximander and by Heraclitus, who considered fire to be the prime cause of all things, and enunciated the famous doctrine of perpetual flux (*πάντα ῥεῖ*). Heraclitus only left any written teaching, and the whole of their school was destined to disappear about 500 B.C. before the rise of the schools of Pythagoras and Zeno in Magna Graecia. Such prose-writing as there was, consisted mainly of descriptions of distant times and countries, mixed with purely geographical matter. Such were the writings of Cadmus of Miletus (c. 520 B.C.), and Acusilaus of Argos who collected the pre-Trojan myths. Hecataeus wrote a *Tour round the World* (*Περίοδος Γῆς*), Pherecydes of Leros wrote a lengthy *History of Ancient Athens*, and Chaeron of Lampsacus and Hellanicus of Mitylene both wrote geographico-historical treatises.

TEST QUESTIONS

ON

GRECIAN HISTORY, TO 495 B.C.

1. What physical causes may be assigned for the fact that (a) no Hellenic state was able to establish a permanent Hegemony over the rest of Hellas, and (b) that the connection of Greece was more intimate with the Orient than with the West?

2. Describe accurately the position and physical formation of the several states of Central Greece

3 Define the geographical positions of *five* of the following —Naxos, Theia, Strymon, Rhium, the Maliac Gulf, Corcyra, Halys, Parnon, giving the modern name of each.

4 Give some account of the Aegean civilisation of 2000-1000 B C

5 Narrate briefly the history of the Lydian monarchy, with especial reference to the policy it pursued towards the Ionian cities

6. Estimate the nature and extent of the influence of the Phoenicians on the Greeks.

7 State briefly what you know about Greece and the Aegean islands before the coming of the Greeks. What was the nature and what were the effects of the Greek invasion?

8 Discuss the origin of the Iliad, and trace the development of the poem down to 800 B C.

9. What constitutes the historical importance of the Iliad? Give some account of the political organisation of the Heroic Age.

10. Discuss how far archaeological and other evidence confirms or refutes the Homeric poems with respect to (a) the narrative of the Trojan war, (b) the picture of society and government which they give.

11. Discuss the effect of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus upon the Aegean civilisation

12. Indicate the general nature of the Dorian conquest of (a) Laconia, (b) Argolis

13. How may the early presence of Greeks in Asia be accounted for?

14. Quote instances to show the influence of (a) commercial activity, and (b) political disturbances, in the colonisation of the West.

15. Mention any points which show the importance of Delphi in early Grecian history.

16. What theories have been formed to account for the dual monarchy at Sparta?

17. Describe briefly the Spartan constitution. What was the position of Perioeci, Helots, Neodamodes, Hypomeiones?

18. Discuss the traditions of the legislation of Lycurgus.

19. What was the normal course of development in the government of a Greek state? Illustrate your answer by reference to Syracuse, Samos, and Sparta.

20. Give, with dates, the chief events in the history of Corinth down to the expulsion of the Cypselidae.

21. Relate the history of Cleisthenes of Sicyon. Can he be said to have had any particular policy?

22. Describe, with dates, the conquest of Messenia by Sparta.

23. Trace the relations between Sparta and Argos down to the year 590 B.C.

24. Estimate the position of Sparta at the close of the sixth century. To what causes may her ascendancy be referred?

25. What do you know about the rival commercial Leagues of Chalcis and of Eretria?

26. Describe briefly the reign of Periander.

27. Give some account of the immigration into Greece of (a) the Thessalians, (b) the Boeotians.

28. Explain the division of the Athenian population into (a) *Phratry* and *Gentes*; (b) *Naucleries*; (c) *Eupatridae*, *Geomor*, *Demiurgi*; (d) citizens, metics, slaves.

29. What causes may be assigned for social and political discontent in Athens at the middle of the 7th century B.C.?

30. Describe the successive limitations put upon the authority of the King at Athens. How did the oligarchy gradually merge into a timocracy?

31. Show how the work of Dracon and of Solon furthered the Athenian development from oligarchy to democracy.

32. Give short accounts of any *two* of the following:—Damascias, Alcmaeon, Megacles II., Miltiades I.

33. Describe, with dates, the rise and history of the despotism of Peisistratus.

34. Describe briefly the struggle between Athens and Megara, 629-565 B.C.

35. What was the First Sacred War?

36. Describe the legislation of Cleisthenes of Athens, and show the reason for each change.

37. Explain the terms *προβούλευμα*, *εὐθυνα*, *οἱ θεσμοθέται*, *πρυτάνεις*, *οἱ ἑνδεκα*, *οἱ πωληταί*.

38. What were respectively the powers of the Boulé and the Ecclesia as constituted by Cleisthenes?

39. Describe the events that led to the Ionic revolt

40. Relate briefly the history of the Ionic Revolt, with dates.

41. What was the extent of the Persian Empire in 495 B.C.? What are the dates of the first acquisition of Egypt, the Greek cities of Asia, and Thrace, by Persia?

42. Trace the development of vase-painting from the beginning of the Aegean culture to the classical period.

43. What is known of the life and works of any *four* of the following —Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Arion, Theognis, Hecataeus, Heraclitus?

44. Trace the rise of Tragedy in Greece.

45. Give some description of the chief Greek colonies in Sicily, and illustrate your answer by a map. State the date and circumstances of their foundation.

46. Enumerate the principal Greek colonies in Italy, and state the date and circumstances of their foundation.

47. Make a list of the chief Dorian colonies in the Hellenic world.

48. Into what two classes may Greek colonies be divided? Give instances of each, and state which of these resemble the Roman colonies in Italy.

49. What historical results may be derived from the poems of Tyrtæus and Theognis?

50. Estimate the nature and effects of the legislation of Draco.

51. Describe the leading measures in the social reforms of Solon. Explain the term *Seisachthera*.

52. Indicate the chief archaeological discoveries which have been made at Hissarlik, Orchomenus, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Santorin.

53. Write brief accounts of two of the following.—
 Pheidon of Argos, Theagenes of Megara, Cylon, and Aristomenes

54. Describe the main features of the political reforms of Solon

55. Discuss the origin and value of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία

56. Write brief accounts of three of the following:—
 Miltiades II., Cleomenes, Polycrates of Samos, Hippias, Epimenides, Hesiod

57. In the Athenian constitution trace down to the time of Cleisthenes (*a*) the method of selecting the Archons and the Boulé; (*b*) the powers and constitution of the Areopagus.

58. What light does the literature of the time throw upon the history of the epoch 800-495 B.C.?

59. Estimate the good and ill effects of *Tyrannis* with reference to the despots of the 6th century B.C.

60. Explain the basis of the traditional chronology of early Grecian History, and discuss how far the dates assigned to events before the beginning of the 6th century B.C. are reliable

61. How were the four Ionic tribes in Attica connected with the Phratriae and Gentes? Show how the retention of these tribes by Solon prevented the success of his political reforms.

62. Explain the division of the Athenians into (*a*) classes, (*b*) tribes, before the time of Cleisthenes. Describe the changes he effected in the organisation of the citizens, and discuss the political importance of these changes

63. Draw an outline map of the coast of Asia Minor, and insert the names of the chief Ionic, Aeolic, and Dorian settlements

64. What influence has the Delphic oracle said to have exerted on early Grecian colonisation?

- 65 Give an account of the colonising activity of Miletus.
- 66 Under what circumstances was Massilia founded? What settlements did this city in its turn send out?
67. Write a short account of the foundation of Naucratis, with special reference to the date.
68. What are our chief original authorities for the period of Grecian History down to 495 B.C.

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